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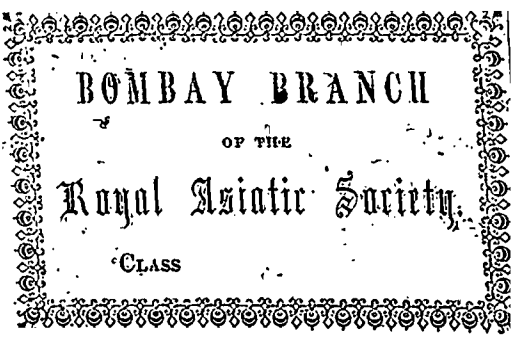

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THE

CLASSIC AND CONNOISSEUR

IN

ITALY AND SICILY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

83653

CONTAINING AN

Abridged Translation of Lanzi's Storia Pittorica.

BY THE

REV. G. W. D. EVANS.

. . . . . Apis Matina
More modoque.—Hor.

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ERRATA.

Page 12, *line* 22, *for* Ferrari *read* Ferrara.
— 56, — 5, — Todesco *read* Tedesco.
— 58, in the argument, *for* from *read* form.
— 107, — 31, *for* Œtolia *read* Ætolia.
— 139, — 2, — the *read* its.
— 258, — 22, — much *read* too much.

THE

CLASSIC AND CONNOISSEUR

IN

ITALY AND SICILY.

JOURNEY FROM ROME TO BOLOGNA.

Mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas,
Inferni, superique maris: collesque coercent,
Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes æquora Pisæ,
Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.—Luc.

AT Monte Rosi, where the road from Rome to Bologna turns suddenly towards the east, we entered on the Flaminian pavement, and traversed the site of the ancient Ciminian forest. Hence we passed through the pretty village of Nepi, whose ivy-mantled walls overhang a romantic valley, crossed by a ruined aqueduct; and a few miles farther reached Cività Castellana—the ancient Falerium, not Veii, as antiquaries once fondly imagined. The real site of the latter town has since been ascertained beyond dispute, not only by remains of marble pillars, fragments of temples, and statues, but more especially

by an inscription found on the Cassian Way, about two miles from Isola Farnese. This discovery, it is true, is not calculated to convey a very high opinion of the prowess of the ancient Romans, who, at so advanced a period of their history, could only subdue a city, situated thus at their gates—for Isola Farnese is scarcely more than twelve miles from Rome—by a lucky stratagem, and after a ten years' siege.

Cività Castellana is beautifully situated on a sort of peninsula faced with precipices and surrounded by torrents, combining the features of the grand and the picturesque, and presenting scenes worthy the pencil of a Poussin or a Salvator. Old Soracte, disguised under the modern appellation of S. Oreste, shoots up boldly by himself in the middle of the plain, a few miles from the town. The summit of this mountain, once crowned by the temple of Apollo, is now occupied by an establishment of Carmelite nuns, whose vow binds them to refrain from speaking except at stated times, as well as to content themselves with just so much food, of the coarsest kind, as may suffice to keep body and soul together, and thus seek

To merit heaven, by making earth a hell.

On entering the vale of Terni, through which the road and the river Nera meander, the beauties of Italian scenery crowded thick upon us, offering a succession of the finest compositions imaginable. "The features of an Italian landscape," as Mathews justly observes, "are

very peculiar. The scenery is always rich, and sometimes even romantic. The bold and the grand are frequently blended with the soft and the beautiful. Thus among the rugged rocks of Terni, the mountain ash, and the acacia, the ilex, the cypress, and the fir, interspersed among the other trees of the forest, refresh the eye with every variety of green, and add a richness which never belongs to the English landscape."

Soon after our arrival at Terni, the Interamna of the Romans, we set out to view the grand object of attraction —the fall of the Velino. Our road lay, at one time, at the foot of bold and rugged precipices; at another, across the shoulder of a naked mountain, from which we caught a full view of the little village of Papignina, perched on the summit of a neighbouring hill, and blending in the happiest manner with the surrounding scenery. Then came the Velino thundering over the cliffs, " with all that glory of refracted light, and everlasting sound, and infinity of motion, which make a great waterfall the most magnificent of earthly objects." The principal features of this tremendous cataract—the chasm worn at the point of precipitation—the fury with which the torrent rushes into the abyss below—the deep abyss itself, half concealed by clouds of spray—the rainbow occasionally painted upon them—all these have often been described; but perhaps no description can give a better idea of the effect produced by such a scene, than the exclamation of Wilson the painter, overheard by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who happened to be near him at the time. For a moment Wilson stood in mute astonishment at the sublimity of

the spectacle, and at length unconsciously exclaimed—"Well done, water, by G—d."

Of this "Cascata del Marmore" Byron asserts, that it is worth all the cascades and torrents of Switzerland put together, and does his utmost to convey an adequate idea of its terrible beauties; but his elaborate attempt, notwithstanding the charms of the poetry, only serves to prove the truth of Mathews's observation—"that a cascade cannot be described; that it bids defiance either to the pen or the pencil;—for the noise and the motion, which constitute, in fact, almost all that is grand and graceful in a real waterfall, are lost in the picture; and when these are taken away, what remains—but an unseemly patch of white paint? If the imagination is to supply the loss, it might (says he) as well represent the whole scene."

From Terni the road winds up a rocky valley by the side of a mountain torrent—the commencement of the ascent of the Monte Somma, which commands delightful views over the vale of the Nar on the one hand, and that of the Clitumnus on the other:—

> Quà formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
> Integit, et niveos abluit unda boves.—PROP. lib. ii.
>
> Where fair Clitumnus bids his waters flow
> Thro' arching groves, and bathes his herds of snow.

A rapid descent conducted us to Spoleto, which held out successfully against Hannibal, after the battle of Thrasymene. The inhabitants still pride themselves on the prowess of their ancestors, and point with exultation

to the gate, which bears the name, and commemorates the repulse, of the Carthaginian general*.

Spoleto is charmingly situated on the declivity of a hill, the lower part of the town reaching down to the plain. The town itself, though filthy and mean in its interior—the magnificent castle by which it is overtopped—the marble cathedral, built during the reigns of the Lombard Dukes, and in the Lombard style—the tremendous aqueduct stretching from hill to hill—and the white patrician hermitages scattered over the environs—form altogether a landscape as pleasing as it is diversified.

From hence, entering on the plain of Mevania, the Flaminian Way brought us close to the little temple and fountain of Clitumnus, the latter of which, now called Le Vene, is described by the younger Pliny with so much interesting minuteness†. The temple is of an oblong

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* The following is the inscription over the gate:—

HANNIBAL
CÆSIS AD THRASYMENUM ROMANIS
URBEM ROMAM INFENSO AGMINE PETENS
SPOLETI MAGNA SUORUM CLADE REPULSUS
INSIGNI FUGA PORTÆ NOMEN FECIT.

† Vidistine aliquando (says he to his friend Romanus) Clitumnum fontem? Si nondum, (et puto nondum, alioqui narrasses mihi) vide: quem ego, pœnitet tardidatis, proxime vidi. Modicus collis assurgit, antiquâ cupressu nemorosus et opacus: hunc subter fons exit, et exprimitur pluribus venis, sed imparibus, eluctatusque facit gurgitem, qui lato gremio patescit purus et vitreus, ut numerare jactas stipes et relucentes calculos possis. Inde, non loci devexitate, sed ipsâ sui

form, and of the Corinthian order, with four columns supporting the pediment. The spirals on these columns, however—marks of declining art—are thought to be fatal to the identity of the temple with the one mentioned by Pliny as ancient even in his time. The river is still called by its old name, and, with the dove-coloured herds upon its verdant banks, can hardly fail to awaken in the mind of the traveller many pleasing associations, transporting him in imagination from its tranquil scenery to

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copiâ et quasi pondere impellitur. Fons adhuc, et jam amplissimum flumen atque etiam navium patiens, quas obvias quoque et contrario nisu in diversa tendentes, transmittit et perfert: adeo validus ut ille, qua properat, ipse tanquam per solum planum remis non adjuvetur· idem ægerrimè remis contisque superetur adversus. Jucundum utrumque per jocum ludumque fluitantibus, ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio, otium labore variare. Ripæ fraxino multa, multa populo vestiuntur: quas perspicuus amnis, velut mersas viridi imagine annumerat. Rigor aquæ certaverit nivibus, nec color cedit. Adjacet templum priscum et religiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus, ornatusque prætextâ. Præsens numen atque etiam fatidicum, indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura, totidemque Dei simulacra: sua cuique veneratio, suum numen: quibusdam vero etiam fontes. Nam præter illum, quasi parentem cæterorum, sunt minores capite discreti; sed flumini miscentur, quod ponte transmittitur. Is terminus sacri profanique. In superiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum. Balineum Hispellates, quibus illum locum Divus Augustus dono dedit, publicè præbent et hospitium. Nec desunt villæ, quæ secutæ fluminis amœnitatem, margini insistunt. In summâ, nihil erit, ex quo non capias voluptatem. Nam studebis quoque, et leges multa multorum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta, quibus fons ille Deusque celebratur. Plura laudabis, nonnulla ridebis, quanquam tu vero, quæ tua humanitas, nulla ridebis.—Lib. viii. Epist. 8.

the triumphal processions of Pagan Rome, the crowds of the Forum, and the splendours of the Capitol:—

> Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus
> Victima, sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
> Romanos ad templa Deûm duxêre triumphos.—
> VIR. GEORG. ii. 846.

> There flows Clitumnus through the flowery plain;
> Whose waves, for triumphs after prosperous war,
> The victim ox and snowy sheep prepare.—DRYDEN.

FOLIGNO is a dull little town, containing some manufactories of paper, cloth, and silk; but perhaps more remarkable for having given name to the Madonna del Foligno of Raphael, now in the Vatican. Seated in a delightful plain, forty miles in length by about ten in width, winding among the Apennines, and watered by the Clitumnus, adorned with cornfields, and vineyards, and sprinkled with mulberry and almond-trees, Foligno enjoys the refreshing breezes and the wild scenery of the mountains with the luxuriance and warmth of the valley; corresponding exactly with the description given by Silius Italicus:—

> . . . . Patuloque jacens sine mœnibus arvo
> Fulginia.—Lib. viii. 459.

> Th' unwalled Foligno, seated in a spacious plain.

A few miles from Foligno commences the ascent of the Colfiorito, a mountain so naked, that it might almost lead one to doubt the truth of the adage, that "the Pope has the flesh and the Grand Duke the bones of Italy." It must, at any rate, be acknowledged that, whatever

may be the natural richness of St. Peter's Patrimony, a great portion of it, whether mountain or plain, seems now to labour under some physical curse. "These poor mountaineers," observes Forsyth, "perched on the roof of Italy, though free from mephitism and the plagues of the plain, are unmercifully pelted and starved by the elements. Their brethren on the ground-floor are better sheltered and better fed, but they live in a tainted atmosphere." The declivities of the Apennines, on the side of Tolentino, are as gentle, as they are abrupt towards Foligno; and, on approaching the former town, those mountains gradually sink down into well-cultivated hills.

In this, as in many other districts of Italy, the peasants adhere to a style of dress confined to the district itself. Here the prevailing colour is orange. So constant are the women of this class to local costume, that, to use Forsyth's words, "the female head becomes a kind of geographical index." At Macerata, for example, they still adopt the ancient method of plaiting and coiling the hair, which they transfix with an instrument similar, in make at least, to the "acus crinalis," mentioned by Martial:—

Figat acus tortas sustineatque comas.

A pin the plaited tresses to sustain.

"This pin (as Blunt observes) is six or eight inches long, made of steel or silver, and tipped at each end with a large ovate polished knob. Of these knobs, which project to a considerable distance beyond the ears, the one is fixed, the other moveable at pleasure: sometimes, too, they are

carved or stamped. Many pins of a similar kind, but made of ivory instead of steel, and having, instead of knobs, a carved figure at one extremity, and a circular nut which turns upon a screw at the other, are preserved in the museum at Naples." At Ricanati the women hang golden bells to their ear-rings, three or five to each chime, jingling like the *crotalia* of the Roman matrons—a similar ornament formerly in very general use, as we learn both from the descriptions of Pliny, and from the numbers of them found among the relics at Pompeii and Herculaneum. "At Loreto, they adjust the handkerchief to their heads in the style of their Madonna. All the young men bind their hair in coloured nets—an ancient affectation of female attire, as appears from Juvenal's censure of the practice. Nowhere do you meet with that gracefulness or that simplicity so much admired in the rural costume. In this country, whenever the peasant is fine, he is frightful*."

Loreto is seated on an eminence about three miles from the sea. All the world knows that the Santa Casa of Loreto was the very house which the Virgin, the Infant Saviour, and St. Joseph inhabited at Nazareth—that, after their death, it was consecrated, and dedicated to the Virgin; upon which occasion St. Luke executed that identical image which is still preserved here, and dignified with the name of our Lady of Loreto†—that

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* Forsyth.

† This image is a wooden figure blackened by smoke and decked out with jewels and brocade. "This very circumstance of its com-

it was transported by angels from Palestine, when that country was finally abandoned to the infidels, and placed first in Dalmatia, and afterwards on the opposite coast of Italy, close to the sea, whence, in consequence of a quarrel between two brothers, the proprietors of the ground on which it stood, it was removed, and finally fixed on its present site. This wonderful event is said to have happened in the year 1294, and is attested by the ocular evidence of certain Dalmatian peasants, the testimony of the two brothers, and the declaration of an old lady of the name of Laureta, from whom the chapel takes its name. "The miracle was everywhere heard with joy, and received with implicit faith. Princes and prelates, rich and poor, hastened to venerate the terrestrial abode of the incarnate Word, and implore the present aid of the Virgin. Gifts and votive offerings accumulated; a magnificent church was erected; gold, silver, and diamonds blazed round every altar; various structures rose round the temple, and Loreto soon became a flourishing town.

"The Casa Santa stands under the dome of a large church built round it, after the designs of Bramante. This may be considered as the external covering, or as a sort of great-coat to the Casa Santa, which has a smaller coat of marble, ornamented with relievos representing scriptural subjects, nearer the body. This marble case

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plexion (observes Middleton) makes it but resemble the more exactly the old idols of Paganism, which in sacred as well as profane writers, are described to be black with the perpetual smoke of lamps and incense."—*Baruch*, vi. 19, 21; *Arnob.* lib. vi.

is about fifty feet long, thirty broad, and the same in height; but the Casa Santa itself is no more than thirty-two feet long, fourteen broad, and, at the sides, eighteen high—the centre of the roof being four or five feet higher. The walls of this little chapel are composed of pieces of a reddish substance and oblong shape, laid one upon another, in the manner of brick; for which, indeed, they are taken by all—but the faithful*." Addison gives us a high idea of the riches of the Holy House in his time, where, according to his account, "silver could scarce find admission, and gold itself looked but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones" as it then boasted. All these treasures, however, together with the Virgin herself, were afterwards carried off by the French; but the latter has since found her way back, and a new deposite having been opened, the treasury is once more rich enough to be made a show. On entering the church early in the morning, we observed, indeed, crowds of pilgrims kneeling on the deep-worn pavement round the Casa Santa; but most of them belonged to that class which has no other offering to make than that of devotion. They approached the Virgin,

> Not with fond shekels of the tested gold,
> Or stones whose rates are either rich or poor
> As fancy values them; but with true prayers,
> Prayers that were up at heaven, and entered there
> Ere sunrise.

---

* Moore's View of Society, &c. in Italy.

Ancona is said to owe its origin to a band of Syracusans, who, in the reign of Dionysius, abandoned their country, and settled in this part of Italy. It was formerly famous for its temple of Venus, and, like Paphos and Cythera, was supposed to be a favourite resort of that goddess.

Ancona, though it possesses an excellent harbour, and a strong and capacious Lazaretto rising directly out of the sea, seems not to enjoy such a degree of commercial prosperity as these natural advantages might lead one to expect. The mole is partly ancient, partly modern; the ancient portion is crowned by Trajan's arch, the modern by a Pope's. Trajan's arch is a light and elegant structure of Parian marble, and of the Corinthian order, and, with the exception of its metal ornaments, still nearly entire. The other, a work of the Tuscan order, and of little beauty in itself, is seen to evident disadvantage beside the arch of Trajan. Of these works, however, it has been well observed, that, as arches suppose a triumph, a procession, a road, or the entry to a city, they are here both of them manifestly out of place.

The beauty of the women of Ancona has not escaped the notice of travellers. "Wherever, indeed," says Forsyth, "there is wealth or even comfort in Italy, the sex runs naturally into beauty; and where should we look for beauty if not here?"

Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon.—Juv. iv. 40.

At the distance of about twenty miles from Ancona

we came to Senegaglia, a town which is said to take its name from the Galli Senones; and a few miles further we crossed the Metaurus, celebrated as the scene of Asdrubal's defeat—a defeat which saved Rome, by depriving Hannibal of all chance of succour, and accelerated the fall of Carthage, by cutting off at one blow the flower of her troops, and the hopes of the rising generation.

The learned, however, have questioned the possibility of assigning the exact scene of this memorable battle. But as Livy tells us, "that the consul's camp was on the Sena, and Asdrubal's only five hundred paces from it*;" that Asdrubal began his retreat "at the first watch," or about an hour after sun-set, and, after having wandered for some time in the dark, came upon the Metaurus, about eight miles from the Sena, and there halted till break of day, when, following the banks of the river from the sea towards the mountains, he was overtaken and attacked; that the battle commenced at an early hour; and that, after a most bloody contest, it was only mid-day when victory decided in favour of the Romans†: from all these circumstances—that the nights were short, for it was summer—that the Carthaginians, after marching eight miles only, "were bewildered and lost among the tortuous windings of the river"—that they halted and were over-

---

* Ad Senam castra consulis erant, et quingentos inde passus Asdrubal aberat.

† Et jam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes cædendos capiundosque (hostes) affatim præbebant.—Lib. xxvii. 48.

taken early in the morning—and that they were defeated by mid-day—the conclusion seems inevitable that they could not have marched more than eighteen miles from the Sena; that therefore they had not reached the mountains, and that the battle took place in the plain, though nearer the mountains than the sea. Other circumstances tend to confirm this opinion, and to fix the scene of the conflict with still more precision. To the south of the Metaurus, about fourteen miles from the Sena, on which both armies were encamped the day before, is a hill still called Monte Asdrubale. Now, we know that the left wing of the Carthaginian army, composed chiefly of Gauls, was covered by a hill; that round this hill, when the consul Claudius had attacked the enemy in the rear, was the principal slaughter; and hence it is not improbable, that this spot was ennobled by the fall of the Carthaginian general.

Fano (Fanum Fortunæ) derives its name from a temple of Fortune, erected here by the Romans after the memorable defeat of Asdrubal. The fountain in the market-place is crowned by a statue of the goddess, and the inhabitants still point to some ruins, which, according to them, belong to the ancient temple itself. One of the gates of this town is formed by a defaced triumphal arch, ascribed both to Augustus and Constantine. As, however, Dion mentions but two arches built by the former on the Flaminian Way, and as those two arches are coupled on the existing coins with the two bridges of Rimini and Ponte Molle, at the opposite extremities of that way, doubts have been entertained whether Augus-

tus really had any share in the work, notwithstanding the inscription on the frieze which ascribes it to him.

RIMINI.—The objects here most worthy of notice are, the arch and bridge built by Augustus. The former of these works—a vial arch, and therefore wider than the triumphal ones—is flanked by two Corinthian columns, and crowned, like the arch of Drusus and that of Gallienus, by a pediment which scarcely covers half its entablature. The work, however, is confessedly too much altered and mutilated to allow us to judge of its original effect. The bridge, owing partly to its greater utility, partly to the greater solidity of its construction, is in much better preservation, though it has passed through a longer and severer trial than any similar work in Europe.

At Rimini the Flaminian Way terminates and the Emilian Way begins. On this latter road, every post town is an elegant city*, and the plain itself consists of an exuberantly fertile soil cultivated with the care of a kitchen garden. On the left, the lower ranges of the Apennines, crowned with castles and villages, diversify the scene, and often bring to mind Virgil's descriptive verse:—

> Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis.—GEORG. ii. 156.
>
> Castles and towns on steepy rocks that stand.

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* The principal of these towns are, Cesena, Forli, Faenza, and Imola.

On approaching the rivers, however, you meet with those *fiumare* as they are called, those extensive beds of sand and gravel, usually formed by an Apennine stream:—

> . . . . . Che si confonde
> Ne' giri, che mutar sempre le piacque,
> Divora i liti, e d'infeconde arene
> Semina i prati, e le campagne amene.

During summer, these streams frequently dwindle into mere rills, and the traveller who should see these and many other rivers of Italy and Sicily only during that season, might well enough exclaim in the words of Addison:—

> Sometimes misguided by the tuneful throng,
> I look for streams immortalized in song,
> That lost in silence and oblivion lie,
> (Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry),
> Yet run for ever by the Muses' skill,
> And in the smooth description murmur still.

But should he chance to see them swollen by the heavy rains of autumn, or the melted snows of spring, he would find them transformed into impetuous torrents, rushing headlong to the sea, and bearing away every thing before them.

Among these rivers was the Rubicon, though "now lost in silence and oblivion;" for whether we are to assign that celebrated name to the Fiumecino, the Pisatello, the Borco, or the Rugone, has been matter of much learned controversy. The first of these streams, which

is in fact nothing more than the other three united, seems to have the fairest title to the name. Cæsar would probably march from Ravenna to Rimini by the direct road; and that was not the Via Æmilia, but the one which runs along the sea-shore, called the Lower Road*. The distance of the Fiumecino, at present, from Ravenna on one side, and Rimini on the other, agrees with the distance of the Rubicon from the same towns, as given in the ancient itineraries. On the banks of this stream, therefore, probably it was that Cæsar paused, and suspended for a moment the fate of Rome and the destinies of mankind: "here appeared the warlike phantom, commissioned by the Furies to steel the bosom of the relenting chief, and hurry him on to the work of destruction; and here, too, arose the Genius of Rome, to restrain the fury of her rebel son, and arrest the blow levelled at justice and liberty†:"—

> . . . . Ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas,
> Ingens visa duci patriæ trepidantis imago,
> Clara per obscuram vultu mœstissima noctem
> Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines.—Luc. lib. i.

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* Cluverius maintains that the old Æmilian Way, instead of crossing the three streams, turned towards the sea, and passed the Rubicon by a bridge, at the point where all three unite, and which is called in the Itineraries "ad Confluentes." If this was really the case, the Fiumecino would still coincide with the Rubicon, even if Cæsar marched along the Æmilian Way.

† Eustace.

Now near the banks of Rubicon he stood;
When lo! as he surveyed the narrow flood,
Amidst the dusky horrors of the night,
A wondrous vision stood confest to sight.
Her awful head Rome's reverend image reared;
Trembling and sad the matron form appeared;
A towery crown her hoary temples bound,
And her torn tresses rudely hung around.—Rowe.

BOLOGNA.

Bologna, il cui fato fu detto essere l'insegnare, come il governare fu detto essere il fato di Roma.—Lanzi.

In this venerable looking town, the attention is immediately attracted to the arcades projecting in front of the houses, and affording the convenience of a covered way on each side of the different streets. Each arch rests on single columns, a style of architecture which has been censured as unpleasing in itself, and unfit for the basement of a house front. The arcades, though in themselves light and lofty in the principal streets, give the town a somewhat gloomy appearance. Yet their utility in such a climate is evident, and it is singular that they have not been more frequently adopted in the south of Italy, a country so subject to violent heat and rain.

Bologna has been famed rather as a school of painting than of architecture. Its palaces are, for the most part, plain brick buildings, without much pretension to external elegance. Among the churches most deserving notice may be mentioned the Cathedral, San Paolo, and San Francesco—the latter a fine old church, but not strictly Gothic. San Petronio—the scene of the coronation of Charles V., and remarkable also for Cassini's meridian line traced on the pavement—is an unfinished structure, blending the modern with the Lombard style. The Madonna di San Luca, on a high hill about three miles

from Bologna, is a rich and magnificent edifice, built in the form of a Greek cross and crowned with a cupola, yet less simple in execution than in plan. This structure, as its name imports, was raised to enshrine one of those antique portraits of the Virgin, which, in Italy, pass for the works of St. Luke; while, to render an object of such veneration the more accessible, a covered walk, called the *Porticato*, was carried from Bologna up the face of the hill to the portico before the church. This immense work is said to have been built by the voluntary contributions of the Bolognese, each individual who could afford it contributed one, two, or three arches, according to his means: whether considered, however, as a monument of public piety, or extravagant folly, it astonishes only by its length.

The Garisenda, sometimes denominated Dante's Garisenda, merely because the divine poet happens to have compared Antæus to it—

> Qual pare a riguardar la Carisenda
> Sotto 'l chinato, quand' un nuvol vada
> Sovr' essa sì, che 'd ella incontro penda;
> Tal parve Anteo a me.—INFERNO, c. xxxi.

is but a coarse brick-built tower, deviating about eight feet from the perpendicular. It is sometimes styled the Torre Mozza, or truncated tower, to distinguish it from its taller neighbour, the Asinelli, which surpasses the former in nothing but its height. They are in fact, as Eustace observes of them, deformed monuments of a barbarous age, remarkable only for their unmeaning ele-

vation, and dangerous deviation from the perpendicular. Yet these leaning lumps of bricks, which may be justly likened to the chimney of a steam-engine blown a little out of the plumb line, have been compared to the graceful and elegant tower of Pisa.

The Piazza del Gigante is decorated with a fountain executed by John of Bologna, the design being a bronze statue of Neptune of colossal size surrounded by a number of figures of the same material. "The Neptune is admired for the style, anatomy, and technical details. His air and expression are surely noble, powerful, commanding, perhaps too commanding for his situation. Neptune has not the same local effect in an inland town as at Naples, where the water, which spouts from every prong of his trident, becomes an immediate tribute to his sea*."

Bologna ranks as at least the second school of painting in Italy, a distinction for which it is indebted to the three Caracci. Pursuing, but under happier auspices, the example set by the three Campi of Cremona—that of culling from the different schools of Italy whatever struck them as most commendable in each—these celebrated men contrived to compound out of the Florentine, the Roman, the Parmesan, and the Venetian styles, another that might in great measure be considered as original; and thus, from diligently studying the efforts of others—taking due care, in the meantime, to divide their attention between nature and art—they became in the end capa-

* Forsyth.

ble of giving lessons to all. Nowhere can we better appreciate the merit of these eminent masters, as well as that of their two most distinguished scholars, Domenichino and Guido, than at Bologna; where the works of Guido, more especially, display a force and grandeur, which we shall look for in vain in most of his other performances. Among the most celebrated of his efforts, in the grand style, may be enumerated the Crucifixion and the Massacre of the Innocents, both of them in the Clementine Academy*. The same collection contains Domenichino's magnificent picture of the Persecution of the Albigenses; together with a Madonna by Lodovico Caracci, "exquisitely elegant," says Mathews, "but then it is the elegance and refinement of a woman of fashion. She is not the Madonna, such as Raphael has represented her, and such as she will ever exist personified in the imagination of him who has seen Raphael's pictures." The Cecilia of Raphael, also in the same collection, a work so much eulogized by Addison, has, in the opinion of Mathews, been retouched and spoiled at Paris. In the Zampieri Palace, where each of the Caracci has his ceiling, the respective merits of the three may be readily compared. There too, on another ceiling, may be seen, in the Hercules and Antæus of Guercino, a happy specimen of that artist's magic skill in chiaroscuro and foreshortening.

The Institute—a magnificent establishment, including

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* Guido's famous picture of the two apostles Peter and Paul is no longer at Bologna. It is now in the Brera Library at Milan.

both the Academy of Sciences and the Clementine Academy—is lodged in a noble palace, and supplied with an extensive library—a well-furnished observatory—a laboratory—a cabinet of natural history—two others for the study of architecture, both civil and military—a collection of antiques—another of statues—and a third of paintings—every object, in short, requisite for the furtherance of science and art. The once celebrated University of Bologna, which, if not the oldest in Europe, as the Bolognese maintain, was at any rate the first where academical degrees were invented and conferred, has now, like that of Padua, fallen into decrepitude. "Yet with all this learning in its bosom," observes Forsyth, "Bologna has suffered its dialect—that dialect which Dante admired as the purest in Italy—to degenerate into a coarse, thick, truncated jargon, full of apocope, and unintelligible to strangers."

FERRARA.

While thou, Ferrara! when no longer dwell
The ducal chiefs within thee, shalt fall down,
And crumbling piece-meal view thy hearthless halls,
A poet's wreath shall be thine only crown,
A poet's dungeon thy most far renown,
While strangers wonder o'er thy unpeopled walls.—BYRON.

THE road from Bologna to Ferrara is excellent, but the country, intersected by the Reno, is little better than a swamp. On approaching the delta of the Po, the villages and farm-houses become more thinly scattered over the plain, the marks of cultivation gradually disappear, and the Polisinos everywhere exhibit that desolation which the Popes occasioned by turning the Reno from its direct tendency to the former river, away through the Ferrarese.

Ferrara itself, once the seat of one of the most celebrated courts in Europe, now exhibits, in its deserted streets, and palaces verging to decay, that melancholy contrast between former wealth and actual poverty which so often meets the eye in Italy. Built for more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, it now scarcely contains a fourth part of the number. The fronts of its handsome but untenanted palaces extend on both sides of its regular and grass-grown streets; while the old ducal residence

itself stands, " moated and flanked with towers, in the heart of the subjugated town, like a tyrant intrenched among slaves," recalling the gloomy period described by Dante,

> Che le città d'Italia tutte piene
> Son di tiranni; ed un Marcel' diventa
> Ogni' villan che parteggiando viene.—PURG. c. vi. 124.

Little interest would now attach to the faded grandeur of Ferrara, were it not intimately associated with far greater names than those of its ducal chiefs. " Melancholy as this city now looks, every lover of Italian poetry must view with affection the retreat of an Ariosto, a Tasso, a Guarini. Such is the ascendant of wealth over genius, that one or two princes could create an Athens in the centre of this Bœotia. The little courts of Ferrara and Urbino seemed to emulate those of Alexandria and Pergamos, contending for pre-eminence only in literature and elegance*."

The prison in which Tasso was immured forms a part of the hospital of St. Anna. An inscription over the entrance of his cell incorrectly claims for Bergamo the merit of his liberation; which, though promised to the city of Bergamo, was carried into effect at the intercession of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua†. Ariosto's tomb, which formerly stood in the church of the Bene-

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* Forsyth.

† Rispettate, O Posteri, la celebrità di questa stanza, dove Torquato Tasso infermo più di tristezza che delirio, ditenuto dimorò

dictines, was removed to the Studii by Eugene Beauharnois. The Ferrarese are more proud of Ariosto than of Tasso; for Tasso's history reflects disgrace on their city, which is distinguished as the chosen residence of Ariosto. They make light of the accident by which their poet was born abroad—for he was a native of Reggio—and claim him exclusively for their own. They possess his bones, they shew his arm-chair, and his inkstand, and his autographs:—

. . . Hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit . . .

Rose, in his letters from the North of Italy, tells us, that the sensation which he experienced on looking over an original manuscript of the Orlando Furioso, preserved in the library of Ferrara, was something like that which a person experiences on entering the studio of a sculptor —a sensation of disappointment "on seeing a man working at a model covered with tacks to serve as land-marks, when he had expected to see the artist dealing his blows like Pygmalion in a *ballet*, and the statue starting into life beneath the stroke. If (says he) there is a poet who would appear to have written under immediate in-

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anni VII mesi II, scrisse verse e prose, e fu rimesso in libertà ad istanzà della città di Bergamo, nel giorno VI Luglio 1586.

Tasso was confined in this cell only from March 1579, to December, 1580, being afterwards removed to a contiguous and more commodious apartment. (See Hist. Illustrations of Fourth Canto of Childe Harold).

spiration, it is Ariosto; yet, in fact, few men have bestowed more of the file on their compositions, and, it may be added, few men have used it with more effect.

" He who reviews this manuscript may convince himself that Ariosto, when he began his Orlando, was as yet unpractised in the delicacies and proprieties of the Italian language. It is not indeed necessary to recur to these papers for a proof: the first line of a folio edition of the work (I believe the first) exhibits a striking example of this. Instead of the opening line, as it stands at present, it has the following:—

I donne e cavalier, l' armi, gli amori.

" Such a construction may possibly be justifiable on the principles of philosophical grammar, but it is certainly foreign to the genius of the Italian. This line of Ariosto seems to have been suggested by one in the fourteenth canto of the Purgatorio: according to an after and more accurate recollection of which he appears to have remodelled it:"—

Le donne e i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi.

Sismondi, in the second volume of his History of Italian Literature, has given an interesting analysis of this eccentric poem: " The Orlando," says he, " is but a fragment of the chivalrous and amorous history of Charlemagne, with no more of beginning or end than any other period detached from the general course of time. This want of unity is injurious to its interest and impression as a whole; but the avidity with which all nations

and all ages read Ariosto, even when his fables are robbed, by translation, of the charm of poetry, sufficiently proves that he has been able to bestow on them, in detail, the interest which he has failed of communicating to the entire assemblage. In spite of the habitual absurdity of chivalrous combats, of the constant disproportion between cause and effect, and of the air of raillery which seems to accompany all his descriptions of battles, Ariosto always knows how to excite a sort of indescribable enthusiasm which makes every reader burn to arm himself a knight."

It must, however, be admitted, that Ariosto sometimes counteracts his object by the very multiplicity of the adventures which he records. He seems not to know where to stop, and the reader becomes bewildered in the attempt to follow him. Curiosity is apt to be fatigued by the endless number of plots which the poet endeavours to conduct simultaneously: "hurried from one to another, without notice, and often without any connecting association, we

> Find no end, in wandering mazes lost.

How indeed should we, when the poet so often forgets *himself?* 'Soviemmi,' says he—in joke perhaps, but in joke many a true word is spoken—

> Soviemmi, che cantare io vi doveva
> —*Gia lo promisi e poi m' uscì di mente*—
> D' una suspizion, &c.

In one canto he makes Charlemagne despatch a French

peer to procure succours in England, and in another tells us that the English king, in person, is at Paris all the while*. Sometimes he does not remember which of his heroes are dead and which alive, and occasionally employs those in active service whom he has killed outright several cantos before†. Doubtless it may be argued that Ariosto was treating of subjects with which his countrymen were already familiar—that many of his tales were popular legends—and that Bojardo had very fully discharged for him the duties of a Prologus in his Orlando Innamorato‡. There we find detailed the commencement of that enterprise, of which the Furioso is the continuation: see the African monarch in counsel debating upon the chances of success against France and Charlemagne—pass the sea—encamp before Paris, and carry on the siege. There, too, we have men, women, swords, and horses, bearing the same names as those in the Fu-

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* Canto ii. 26. Canto viii. 27.

† Compare Canto xviii. with Canto xl.

‡ L'Arioste semble avoir à dessein secoué le joug de l'unité d'action; il prend le sujet et le héros que lui avait fournis le comte Boiardo dans Roland l'amoureux. Il entre en matière au milieu des combats, et dans le moment d'une confusion universelle; et cependant il ne fait nulle part une exposition de l'avant-scène, comme s'il comptait que chacun aurait lu l'ouvrage de son prédécesseur. En effet, il est difficile de comprendre la situation et l'intrigue de Roland furieux, si l'on n'a pas lu auparavant Roland l'amoureux, ou si du moins on n'est pas au fait de ces traditions romanesques, qui se trouvaient peut-être au temps de l'Arioste plus généralement répandues.—*Sismondi*, tom. ii. 65.

rioso, and performing the same feats. Enchanted rings too, and proof armour, mixed up, however, with a much greater proportion of giants, and with as much long-winded heraldry as befitted the dignity of a count of Scandiano*. With such an introduction, the intricacy of Ariosto might have caused less confusion than we now imagine; but in this confusion he manifestly takes a pride, conscious of his own great resources. No sooner has he excited the curiosity of his readers to a pitch that must be almost painful, than with a malicious and tantalizing air, he marches them away to some new object, which in turn will be rendered interesting by his genius, and then be dismissed by his caprice†. There is a cer-

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* The *Rifaccimento* of the Orlando Innamorato by Francesco Berni has so completely superseded the original, that no one now thinks of reading the genuine Bojardo. Berni's work ranks among the Italian classics:—" Plus encore que l'Arioste, Berni a cru ne pouvoir considérer la chevalerie qu'en moquerie: il n'a point travesti l'ouvrage de Boiardo: c'est bien le même roman raconté de bonne foi, mais par un homme qui ne peut se tenir de rire des choses absurdes qu'il nous rapporte. La versification est soignée, l'esprit est semé à pleines mains; la gaieté est plus folâtre que dans l'Arioste; mais les deux livres ne peuvent être comparés pour l'imagination, le coloris, la richesse, et tout ce qui fait la poésie."—*Sismondi*, ii. 216.

† Dans la marche de l'action, l'Arioste, se jouant de ses lecteurs, voulant les égarer sans cesse et presque les impatienter, ne leur permet nulle part de saisir l'ensemble de son poëme, et de ramener les actions particulières sous un point de vue général. Il s'attache, au contraire, à chacun de ses personnages tour à tour, comme s'il étoit dévenu son héros principal, et lorsqu'il l'a conduit dans une situa-

tain *persiflage* and banter about him, let him be talking of what he will, that bespeaks superiority. Like Hogarth, if he had to paint a Danaë, the general splendour of the subject would not prevent his introducing the old nurse biting a coin of the golden shower to prove the metal;—nor in a description of the Pool of Bethesda, would the sublimer features of the picture displace the lady's pampered menial beating back the beggar who presumed to seek the same celestial remedy. 'But in this spirit, as far as it is exhibited in Ariosto, there is nothing malignant;—sportive it is—delighting to throw the gravest matters into ludicrous contrast, yet seldom trespassing on ground from which it ought to abstain; abusing any of our better or more sacred feelings; or holding up to ridicule virtues which we ought to cherish. It often assumes the form of satire, yet it is satire which is evidently prompted by the love of a joke rather than by spleen; and the monks themselves must have smiled at the ingenuity of the poet, though it was exercised at their own expense, when he sends the Archangel Michael from heaven to earth to look for Silence and Discord to be employed in the service of Charlemagne against his pagan foes; and makes him find the latter by accident in a monastery, where he had very naturally, but to very little purpose, been searching for the more peaceful object of his embassy—an

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tion embarrassante, et qu'il a suffisamment excité l'anxiété de ses lecteurs, il l'abandonne en plaisantant, pour passer à d'autres personnages, ou à une autre partie de la fable qui est sans rapport avec la premiere.—*Sismondi*, ii. 65.

exile from such abodes since the days of the good Saint Benedict.

" There are other indications of a just confidence in his own strength, which Ariosto discovers in common with the early poets of most countries; for the fact is, that such men write, only because they feel the god struggling within them—' Phœbi nondum patientes.' No one can read either the Orlando or the Inferno without admiring the freshness, and vigour, and originality of the poetry. There may be a reckless disregard of propriety, grievous violations of taste, but Dante and Ariosto were ambitious of conveying to the minds of others the impressions on their own, with force and perspicuity and exactness, and to effect this they cared not to stoop to the meanest images. Thus, when the spirits gaze at Dante and Virgil, labouring to discern them through the smoke, the act is described in these striking words:—

> E si ver noi aguzzavan le ciglia,
> Come vecchio sartor fa nella cruna.—INF. XV.

—a simile which, low as it is, nevertheless puts us in complete possession of the poet's mind.

" By a figure of the same kind Ariosto describes the grief of Orlando at detecting the faithlessness of his mistress:—

> L'impetuosa doglia entro rimase,
> Che volea tutta uscir con troppo fretta.
> Cosi veggiam restar l'acqua nel vase,
> Che largo il ventre, e la bocca abbia stretta:

Che nel voltar, che si fa in su, la base,
L'umor, che vorria uscir, tanto s'affretta,
E nell' angusta via tanto s' intrica,
Ch' à goccia à goccia, fuore esce à fatica.—C. xxiii. 113.

Indeed, in spite of all his romance, Ariosto is the poet of nature; his images are taken from things which seem all to have come under his own observation. Hence the motley mixture of the mean and magnificent which they sometimes present, because nature itself is a motley mixture of the magnificent and mean. Hence, again, the distinctness of these images, which, when they are introduced for the purpose of illustration, is a quality the most important. If he would describe a stream of blood staining the armour of a wounded warrior, he compares it to the purple ribbon which he had one day observed his mistress working upon a ground of silvery white. (xxiv. 56). If a Diana or a Cytherea will serve him a good turn, he is more apt to refer his readers for them to the Ferrara theatre than to Delos or the Paphian Isle*."

Ariosto's style, though not exempt from occasional blemishes, sometimes the effect of negligence, and sometimes probably of design, is in general highly finished. On this subject Sismondi observes:—" Ariosto's versification is much more remarkable for grace, sweetness, and elegance, than for majesty: its beauties are particularly eminent in the introductory stanzas of every canto, which are always ornamented with the richest poetry.

* See No. 21 of the Quarterly Review.

For perfect harmony of language no poet can be compared to him. He paints whatever he treats of, and the eyes of the reader follow the poet in all his recitals. Since he is constantly sporting with his subject, with his readers, even with his style itself, he seldom attains, and never supports himself at the elevation of epic poetry. He even seeks the grace of facility in negligence; and often begins a new stanza by repeating some of the phrases with which he finished the preceding*—as in story-telling we go back upon our words to give ourselves time for recollection. He forces in half verses merely for the sake of the rhyme, and seems to have made it his business to write as an improvvisatore sings, who, hurried along by his subject, thinks it enough to fill up the measure, that he may arrive the sooner at the event or image that occupies his mind."

With regard to the originality of the Orlando Furioso, in the strict sense of that term—for, according to the common acceptation of it, few books can advance half so good a title to such a character—the Quarterly Reviewer makes the following apposite observations:—

" Ariosto may justly be considered as the most inventive and original of poets; yet, strip him of all that he has collected in a thousand parts, and made his own by skilful appropriation, and what will remain even to him! He takes a story out of a *fabliau*, varies it, adds dramatis

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* . . . . . Ma quivi giunse
In fretta un messagier che gli disgiunse.
Vi giunse un messagier, &c.

personæ from Apuleius, supplies them with sentiments from Ovid, and here and there intersperses his own beautiful stanzas with verses *tolti da peso*, as the Italians phrase it—that is, taken bodily—out of Dante and Petrarch. He does, in short, what every good poet, whose operations we are able to trace, has done; and it is a most curious point to ascertain what is that quality which we call invention, and to prove how almost entirely made up of borrowed parts is that which may be designated original as a whole."*

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* No. 21.

Ariosto's merits and peculiarities cannot, perhaps, be summed up better than in the words of Delille:—

L'Arioste naquit; autour de son berceau,
Tous ces légers esprits, sujets brillans des fées,
Sur un char de saphirs, des plumes pour trophées,
Leurs cercles, leurs anneaux et leur baguette en main,
Au son de la guitare, au bruit du tambourin,
Accoururent en foule, et fêtant sa naissance,
De combats et d'amour bercèrent son enfance.
Un prisme pour hoquet, sous mille aspects divers,
Et sous mille couleurs, lui montra l'univers.
Raison, gaîté, folie, en lui tout est extrême;
Il se rit de son art, du lecteur, de lui-même,
Fait naître un sentiment qu'il étouffe soudain;
D'un récit commencé rompt le fil dans ma main,
Le renoue aussitôt, part, s'élève, s'abaisse.
Ainsi, d'un vol agile essayant la souplesse,
Cent fois l'oiseau volage interrompt son essor,
S'élève, redescend, et se relève encor,
S'abat sur une fleur, se pose sur un chêne;
L'heureux lecteur se livre au charme qui l'entraine;

Besides the manuscript of Ariosto, the library of Ferrara contains also the original manuscript of Guarini's Pastor Fido—a work of which the success was even greater than that of Tasso's Amynta, and deservedly so, whether we consider its more animated and dramatic character, or its more finished versification—and that of the Gerusalemme Liberata.

This celebrated poem is founded on models widely different from those which produced the tragi-comic romance of Ariosto. "The respective merits and defects of authors, however," as the Quarterly Reviewer justly observes, "are often best discovered by comparing them with one another; and with this view, perhaps, it is, that the Orlando and the Gerusalemme have been so often opposed to each other, and their rival claims asserted with all the acrimony of Italian controversy. Tiraboschi is not satisfied with that decision which declares Tasso to have written the better poem, but Ariosto to have been the greater poet. Perhaps, however, it is the fairest balance that can be struck between authors—'pares magis quam similes.' In *plan*, Tasso has all the praise; but then, Ariosto on this score lays no claim to any*. So far as the integrity of the poem is concerned,

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Ce n'est plus qu'un enfant qui se plaît aux récits
De géans, de combats, de fantômes, d'esprits,
Qui, dans le même instant, désire, espère, tremble,
S'irrite ou s'attendrit, pleure et rit tout ensemble.—
Poëme sur l'Imagination, c. v.

* De même qu'il a commencé sans qu'on puisse assigner une raison pour que ce soit là son commencement, il finit sans faire mieux comprendre pourquoi ce doit être là sa fin.—*Sismondi*, ii. 66.

the Orlando might as well have consisted of four hundred and sixty cantos as of forty-six. The *characters*, again, of the Jerusalem Delivered, are both more diversified and better sustained than those of the Orlando. Godfrey, Tancredi, Argante, Rinaldo, &c., have all their several parts to bear, which could not in general be interchanged without manifest impropriety. So again, Armida, Erminia, and Clorinda, are perfectly distinct, yet are all consistent and interesting persons. It is not thus with the heroes and heroines of Ariosto. Orlando, Ariodante, Zerbino, Ruggiero, &c., are knights of very extraordinary prowess; blessed with very extraordinary armour; thrown into very extraordinary circumstances; but they are all alike*—'Fortisque Gyas, Fortisque Cloanthes;' except, indeed, that Orlando is remarkably chaste, a virtue which cannot be assigned with strict truth to all his comrades;—though perhaps he was in some measure indebted for it to a very ill-favoured face, and a squint in

* Même le héros qui donne son nom au poëme, Roland, n'est pas trés différent de Renaud, son cousin, de Roger, de Griffon, ou des plus braves chevaliers Sarrasins. Pour la valeur et la force de corps, comme tous s'élèvent fort audessus des bornes du possible, il n'y a pas moyen de mettre de différence entre eux; et, quant au caractère, il n'y en a proprement que deux auxquels se rapportent tous les autres. Une moitié des chevaliers, tant chrétiens que païens, est douce, genereuse et bienfaisante; les autres sont sauvages, arrogans et cruels. Les caractères de femmes ne sont pas mieux esquissés: celui d'Angélique laisse à peine un souvenir qu'on puisse saisir; tous les autres se confondent, à la réserve de la guerrière Bradamante, la seule peut-être pour laquelle on sente un intérêt personnel.—*Sismondi*, ii. 74.

one eye, which might do much towards protecting him from the affections of the ladies. (Bojardo, lib. ii. c. 2). The same objection applies to his women. It is true that some of them are belligerents, as Marfisa and Bradamante; but they only differ in sex from their male partners in arms; whilst Angelica, Olympia, Isabella, are merely so many names for one unlucky individual, who is youthful, pretty, amorous, occasionally condemned to be eaten up naked by a sea-monster, and much addicted to riding behind a gallant cavalier on a high-trotting horse. In pathos, again, Tasso has the advantage; the delightful episode of Sophronia and Olindo, the impassioned appeal by which Armida struggles to attain the object of her idolatry, the death of the generous and high-minded Clorinda, are all passages which breathe the tenderest spirit of poetry. Not that Ariosto is deficient in feeling, whenever it is his pleasure to indulge it: the tale of Clorinda and Medoro, though a close imitation of that of Nisus and Euryalus, is deservedly admired; nor can one read without emotion the description — though a little overcharged — of the sudden and violent workings of that passion to which the mind of Orlando fell a victim; or that beautiful passage in the twenty-fourth canto, where Zerbino expires in the arms of his mistress. Still, however, in scenes like these, Tasso appears to repose with peculiar satisfaction — scenes more congenial to the lover of a Leonora or a Lucrezia, than to one whose character fitted him for a campaign against Venice, or an embassy to a pope. We may perhaps trace the same difference of temperament in these two great poets, in their respec-

tive theological opinions; the one adopting the religion of his country, with all its corrupt but picturesque accompaniments; the other exhibiting the symptoms of a faith, more cold indeed, but more rational and pure;—Tasso relating the events of a holy war with intense interest, and chanting mass, from the Mount of Olives, in a strain of the most lively devotion; Ariosto contenting himself with slight and occasional reference to the campaigns of the cross, venturing to ridicule Constantine's famous deed of gift, the genuineness of which even Dante called not in question*, and seldom exalting the Virgin to that undue eminence to which she is raised in the Jerusalem Delivered. But in originality, in copiousness, in ease, in *abandon*, it is idle to compare Tasso with the master of romance:"—

> His fancy like a rainbow, and his fire,
> Like that of heaven, immortal, and his thought
> Borne onward with a wing that cannot tire!

At Ponte di Lago Scuro, a village about three miles from Ferrara, where the Papal and Austrian frontiers meet, I embarked on the Po, here restrained within artificial banks. For the vast quantities of sand and gravel carried into this "king of floods" by its numerous tributaries, particularly those which descend from the Apennines, have so raised the bed of the river, that its height

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* Ahi, Costantin! di quanto mal fu madre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella *dote*
Che da prese il primo ricco Padre!—*Inferno*, c. xix.

is scarcely less than thirty feet above the level of the plain. Nor is it the Po alone that is thus carried, as it were, upon the ridge of a lofty terrace: all its feeders must of course be brought to at least the same level. The consequence is, that the whole country is intersected by a multitude of aqueducts, each ready to burst its banks, during the violent rains of autumn, or the melting of the snows upon the mountains in the spring. The mischief is increased by the circumstance that the flow of the main river is here too languid to carry off the deposites brought into it. Indeed, its threatening appearance, its great width, and lazy current, remind one of the rivers of Holland; and the surrounding country looks marshy enough to have been wrested from the waves. Following its course as far as Fornaci — where different canals communicate successively with the Adige, the Brenta, and the Adriatic — our attention was directed to a number of thatched huts, of a conical shape, where the Guardia di Po are stationed, for the purpose, it is said, of watching not only the floods but the farmers. The latter have, it seems, the reputation of now and then stealing across in the dark to sluice off the threatening inundation upon their opposite neighbours; and whether this charge be well founded or not, the Po has at any rate ever been noted for this reciprocation of mischief:—

> Succubuit si qua tellus, cumulumque furentem
> Undarum non passa ruit; tum flumine toto
> Transit, et ignotos aperit sibi gurgite campos.
> Illos terra fugit dominos: his rura colonis
> Accedunt, donante Pado.

VENICE.

. . . . . A few in fear,
Flying away from him whose boast it was,
That the grass grew not where his horse had trod,
Gave birth to Venice.—And, where they that came,
Had to make sure the ground they stood upon,
Rose, like an exhalation from the deep,
A vast metropolis, with glistering spires,
With theatres, basilicas adorned;
A scene of light and glory, a dominion,
That has endured the longest among men.—ROGERS.

MOST of the rivers which flow from the northern slopes of the Apennines, and all those which descend from the southern declivities of the Alps—from the sources of the Po in Monte Viso, to those of the Lisonzo in the mountains of Carniola—empty themselves into the Adriatic Gulf, nearly at its head. Between the estuaries of the two rivers above mentioned, the Gulf receives the waters of the Adige, the Brenta, the Pieve, and various minor streams, each of them carrying down, during the rainy season, enormous quantities of mud and sand. Hence the origin of the Venetian Lagoon—a shoal extending upwards of twenty miles from the shore, and, with the exception of the tortuous channels that here and there intersect it, covered with scarcely more than three or four feet of water. "The lagoon, considered with reference to the Adriatic, may," says Rose, "be compared to a side closet shut off from a room by a partition. This

partition, which divides it from the open sea, is composed of different pieces with openings between them, which, if we pursue the same comparison, may be considered as so many doors; and in a line with these openings, though not uniformly straight, are the channels by which vessels approach Venice. The compartments of this partition are—a long spit of land on the side of the Trevisana, separated from the continent by back-waters, estuaries, and canals—the island of St. Erasmus—that styled the Lido—and the Murazzi; these latter being massive walls built on shoals. The Murazzi are comparatively of modern date, but, previous to their construction, outworks existed of a similar, though less permanent, description. The soil of the islands within this barrier, as well as the bottom of the lagoon, is everywhere composed of mud; but without, towards the sea, you find sand-hills and a long level of beach."

The composition of the islands and the bottom of the estuary seem to justify the policy adopted about the middle of the fifteenth century, of turning the course of the rivers which formerly discharged themselves into the lagoon, and guiding their waters into the open sea. But perhaps the object sought—that of preventing the deposition of mud by those rivers—would have been better effected by penning the water, and occasionally sweeping the different channels by its efflux. At present, not even the canals of the city are cleansed, except where the ill consequences of neglecting to do so are more immediately felt by the government.

Venice itself is built on two great collections of shoals,

separated from each other by a serpentine channel, denominated the Canalazo, or Grand Canal, but connected by the bridge of the Rialto. Hence, as Rose observes, "the city may be considered as divided into two principal parts, made up of small islands, and each part separated from the other, except at this bridge. The different shoals, constituting the two great separate parts, are again connected by smaller bridges, which cross the canals by which the numerous islands are formed. These bridges are frequent, and being very steep, they are cut into easy steps: hence, in walking about Venice, you are continually going up and down flights of steps. The Rialto being the highest bridge in the town, is also the steepest.

"The small canals, or *rii*, as they are termed, which are crossed by these bridges, are the water-streets of Venice; but there is no part of either of the two divisions to which you may not also go more directly by land, through narrow passages called *cale*. These *cale* may be considered as an unfavourable likeness of Cranbourne-alley and its cognate lanes. There are besides several small squares, called *campi*, or fields.

"The more considerable houses of Venice have each a land and water door; but many, being built on the interior of the shoals, can have no immediate access by water. This is considered an inconvenience, as it limits the use and convenience of a gondola.

"Sometimes there is a wharf or a footway along the banks of the *rii*; this is called a *riva*, and is usually bordered by a parapet, bored for a wicket. But the *rii*

oftener reach from house to house, the houses rising immediately out of the water. The same may be said of the grand canal as of the *rii*, though here and there may be seen a small extent of terrace, or *riva*, in front of the houses.

" One of the first requisites in a good house at Venice, is that of having 'la riva in casa,' as it is here styled. In this case, your boat is laid alongside your own threshold, and you step from the hall into the gondola*. The next degree of comfort is to have 'la riva in faza,' in other words, to have the landing-place opposite, so that, to get at your boat, you have to cross a narrow quay.

" There is not a good house in Venice which has not one or other of these conveniences; the palaces have all of them the first: yet did the French commence, and the Austrians complete, a palace for their emperor, so far removed from a *rio*, that the imperial possessor cannot reach his gondola in bad weather without a wetting.

" Venice has no springs: every campo, indeed, has its wells; but these, though wells in appearance, are in fact great reservoirs of rain-water, which, as the pavement slopes towards them, is received in drains lined with sand, and so filtered into its receptacle. This, that the salt

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* Le silence est profond dans cette ville, dont les rues sont des canaux; et le bruit des rames est l'unique interruption à ce silence: ce n'est pas la campagne, puisqu'on n'y voit pas un arbre; ce n'est pas la ville, puisqu'on n'y entend pas le moindre mouvement; ce n'est pas même un vaisseau, puisqu'on n'avance pas: c'est une demeure dont l'orage fait une prison; car il y a des moments où l'on ne peut sortir ni de la ville ni de chez soi.—*Corinne*, Vol. ii.

water may not penetrate from below, is carefully bricked or cemented. The water thus collected is considerable in quantity, yet much more might be procured were the roofs of the houses formed into flat terraces, as at Malta. It is true, that what runs from the roofs into the *campi* is conveyed into the wells; but what runs into the *rii* or *cali* is lost; in the *rii* necessarily; in the *cali* because they are so dirty from the throng of passengers, that the water would be unfit for use. Water is also brought by boats from the main land."

The interior of Venice, even as regards its architecture, presents a very singular scene; for here may you trace the progress of that science from the solid masses and round arches of the sixth and seventh centuries, through the fanciful style and whimsical decorations of the middle ages, down to its revival in modern times. Here may you trace it—

> . . . . . Thro' many a dome,
> Mosque-like, and many a stately portico,
> The statues ranged along an azure sky;
> Thro' many a pile in more than Eastern pride,
> Of old the residence of merchant-kings;
> The fronts of some, tho' Time has shattered them,
> Still glowing with the richest hues of art,
> As tho' the wealth within them had run o'er.—ROGERS.

Every style of architecture is here intermingled, but the Saracenic is predominant; and the air of barbaric grandeur, which it diffuses over the city, is in keeping with the singularity of its situation.

The most striking quarter of Venice is that formed

by the Piazza of St. Mark and the adjoining Piazzetta. The first of these is a noble oblong, terminated at one end by the church of St. Mark; at the other, by a handsome structure erected by the French, to replace an old church which they had pulled down; each side consisting of a long range of buildings appropriated to the public offices. The lower story of these edifices, occupied by cafés, goldsmiths' shops, &c., is separated from the Piazza by covered arcades, open at the side.

This square was once the principal scene of every show, whether of the gay or melancholy kind:—

> Here, among other pageants, and how oft
> It met the eye, borne thro' the gazing crowd,
> As if returning to console the least,
> Instruct the greatest, did the Doge go round;
> Now in a chair of state, now on his bier.
> They were his first appearance, and his last.
> The sea, that emblem of uncertainty,
> Changed not so fast for many and many an age,
> As this small spot. To-day 'twas full of masks;
> And lo, the madness of the Carnival,
> The monk, the nun, the holy legate masked!
> To-morrow came the scaffold and the wheel;
> And he died there by torch-light, bound and gagged,
> Whose name and crime they knew not.—ROGERS.

This spot, though "fallen from its high estate," still presents, of an evening, a very singular spectacle. The bearded Turk with his caftan, smoking or playing at chess—the cunning Greek, with his skull-cap and embroidered jacket—the supercilious and fashionably dress-

ed tourist—men in short of every nation, and every variety of costume, may here be seen lounging about the cafés; exhibiting a medley in keeping with the buildings of the Piazza itself, where all orders of architecture seem jumbled together. St. Mark's, for example—with its front divided by a gallery, and decorated with an infinity of columns of different lengths and as different merit—and its roof surmounted by five mosquish cupolas—has been properly characterized as belonging to no single order, but as exhibiting a fortuitous jumble of the Greek, Roman, Gothic, and Saracenic styles. The introduction of the latter is perhaps justly attributed to the fact, that when St. Mark's was built, the Venetians could think of nothing but Constantinople and the glorious exploits of Dandolo. The interior of the church, notwithstanding the profusion of porphyry, oriental marbles, and mosaic, with which it is decorated, has been censured by most travellers, from Evelyn down to Forsyth, as dark, dismal, and even poor in its appearance. "The interior," says Simond, "is a huge cavern rudely hewn in a rock, and gilt all over, with great tawdry figures in mosaic sprawling about both above and below," producing an effect "half ludicrous, half awful, at once majestic and mean." Upon no subject, however, is perfect conformity of opinion to be expected among travellers. Rose, therefore, differs without hesitation from the rest of his fraternity; and steps forward with all the heat of a gallant cavalier to break a lance in defence of this much vituperated church. "There is," says he, "no wonder in Venice superior to the church of St. Mark. Canaletti may shew you what

it is without, but a Rembrandt only could give you an idea of its interior. If I could have visions anywhere, it would be here."

The famous horses of Lysippus, which "blind old Dandolo" brought in triumph to Venice, as the trophies of his conquest of Constantinople, and which Buonaparte transferred to Paris, to grace the triumphal arch in the Place du Carousel, have been restored to their position over the portal of the cathedral. This their restoration —which took place under the auspices of the Emperor Francis, after the fall of Buonaparte, when France was very properly made to disgorge the booty which her unprincipled hordes had plundered from every part of Italy —is duly recorded in a pompous Latin inscription*.

In front of the cathedral stand the three bare poles, which formerly bore the flags of Crete, Cyprus, and the Morea—the three vassal states of the haughty republic.

The Campanile, or belfry, where Galileo, during his residence at Venice, used to hold commerce with the skies, is a square tower about three hundred-and-fifty feet in height, and, like the one at Florence, detached

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* "The doubts and decisions of those who would have given these horses a Roman extraction, and a pedigree not more ancient than the reign of Nero, have been shewn to be groundless. A Greek has vindicated the pretension of his countrymen to this noble production. It should seem that the horses are irrevocably Chian, and were transferred to Constantinople by Theodosius. See the Lettera di Andrea Mustodixi, Corcirese, Sui Quattro Cavalli della Basilica di San Marco in Venezia. (Padua, per Battoni e Compag. 1816)."—*Notes to Canto* iv. *of Childe Harold.*

from the cathedral. Each front is flanked with two broad pilasters, running, like Gothic buttresses, up to the parapet—a peculiarity observable in several other of the Venetian belfries. It is usual to ascend to the top of the Campanile for the sake of the view, which, together with the whole of Venice and its suburbs, comprises—every shoal and channel in the wide lagoon—the long narrow chain of islands and sand-banks that separate it from the main—and the flat shores of Lombardy, backed by the Euganean hills and the Tyrolese Alps.

The *Procuratie Nuove*, which forms one side of the Piazza, is a rich line of building fronted with all the Greek orders. This front, in the opinion of Forsyth, might dispense with the pigmy columns which are niched in the lower windows, and with the statues which recline on their pediments. "Tired of so much embellishment," says he, "the eye wants to see something of the wall. The opposite building is lighter, lower, less noble indeed, and too open; a mere lantern." These piles, as he further observes, are too dissimilar to have met in contact; but the "vile church," which parted them in his time, was pulled down by the French, and a new structure raised which no longer interrupts the communication of the arcades.

"In the adjoining Piazzetta, the contrast is still more striking. The Library and Mint stand opposed to the Ducal palace; the beautiful to the imposing, the regular to the odd. Happily for Sansovino, the Library was too short to admit a third story, and the two orders which

compose it are as rich as beauty would allow them to be. The Mint has two fronts perfectly unlike: where it joins the Library it accords with it too; but to the sea it presents bossages and rusticity up to the summit*."

The *Ducal Palace* incloses three sides of a square—the church of St. Mark forming the fourth—and has three fronts, one to the Piazzetta, one to the port, and one to a narrow canal. The style, whether Saracenic or not, is deservedly censured by Forsyth as reversing "the principles of all other architecture; for here the solid rests on the open; a wall of enormous mass rests on a slender fret-work of shafts, arches, and intersected circles. The very corners are cut to admit a thin spiral column, a barbarism imitated in several old palaces. A front (says he) thus bisected into thick and thin, such contrast of flat and fretted, can please only in perspective. It is not enough that the structure be really durable, it should also appear so."

Several of the apartments of this palace, where the Venetian Senate formerly held its meetings, have received their names from those of the different sections into which that body was divided; and most of them are still decorated with paintings commemorative of the former power and achievements of the republic. There are, however, within the precincts of this palace, apartments of a very different kind. "The communication between the Ducal Palace and the prisons of Venice is by a gloomy

* Forsyth.

bridge, or covered gallery, high above the water, and divided by a stone wall into a passage and a cell. The state dungeons, called pozzi, or wells, were sunk in the thick walls of the palace; and the prisoner, when taken out to die, was conducted across the gallery to the other side, and, being then led back into the other compartment or cell upon the bridge, was there strangled. The low portal through which the criminal was taken into this cell is now walled up; but the passage is still open, and is still known by the name of the Bridge of Sighs. The pozzi are under the flooring of the chamber at the foot of the bridge. They were formerly twelve in number; but on the first arrival of the French, the Venetians hastily blocked or broke up the deeper of these dungeons. You may, however, still descend by a trap-door, and crawl down through holes half-choked by rubbish to the depth of two stories below the first range. Scarcely a ray of light glimmers into the narrow gallery which leads to the cells, and the cells themselves are totally dark. A small hole in the wall admitted the damp air of the passages, and served for the introduction of the prisoner's food. A wooden pallet, raised a foot from the ground, was the only furniture. The guides tell you that a light was not allowed. The cells are about five paces in length, two and a half in width, and seven feet in height. They are directly beneath one another, and respiration is somewhat difficult in the lower holes. Only one prisoner was found when the republicans descended into these hideous recesses, and he is said to have been confined sixteen years. The inmates of the dungeons be-

neath had left traces of their repentance, or despair, which are still visible, and may perhaps owe something to recent ingenuity*."

The entrance of the arsenal is defended by two towers, flanking a gateway, over which the winged lion of St. Mark still frowns, but vainly frowns, defiance on the enemies of Venice. On each side of the gateway are some enormous Athenian lions taken at the Piræus during the siege of Athens by the Venetians, when the Parthenon was reduced to its present ruined condition.

The arsenal afforded accommodations for building six-and-thirty ships of war under cover; but the ships and the commerce of Venice have vanished with its freedom, and there is now scarcely a cock-boat in the harbour. In the armoury, among other curiosities, are shewn some of the spoils of the battle of Lepanto.

The Rialto is a single elliptical marble arch, thrown across the narrowest part of the Grand Canal. This celebrated arch, which is ascended by steps, is four-and-twenty feet in height, and ninety in width. It is surmounted by two rows of shops or booths, which divide it into three narrow passages, and give an air of heaviness to a structure of which lightness ought to have been the characteristic.

Notwithstanding the romantic character of the Venetian history, and the deep interest which attaches to it,

* See Notes to Canto iv. of Childe Harold.

an Englishman, while traversing the Rialto—such are the magic illusions of poetry—may well be pardoned for thinking more of Shakspeare and Otway, Othello and Shylock, Pierre and Jaffier, than of Dandolo and all his victories. It must, however, be admitted, that the congregation of merchants, before whom Antonio used to rate Shylock, must have been a small one, and that Pierre could not have chosen a worse place for "his evening walk of meditation" than the Rialto, were we to confine the name to this single arch. "The fact is, however," to use Mathews's words, "that the little island which formed the cradle of Venice, where the first church was built by the fugitives from the persecution of Attila, was called Riva-alta, or Rialto. Here too, was the Exchange where the merchants met. In process of time the bridge leading to this island was called the Rialto, and has at last become sole proprietor of the name*."

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* The Rialto, an English abbreviation. Rialto is the name, not of the bridge, but of the island from which it is called; and the Venetians say "il Ponte di Rialto," as we say Westminster Bridge. In that island is the Exchange; and I have often walked there as on classic ground. In the days of Antonio and Bassanio it was second to none. "I sottoportichi," says Sansovino, writing in 1580, "sono ogni giorno frequentati da i mercatanti Fiorentini, Genovesi, Milanesi, Spagnuoli, Turchi, e d'altre nationi diverse del mondo, i quali vi concorrono in tanta copia, che questa piazza è annoverata fra le prime dell'universo." It was there that the Christian held discourse with the Jew; and Shylock refers to it, when he says,

> Signor Antonio, many a time and oft,
> In the Rialto you have rated me—

CHURCHES.—Venice has reason to be proud of her churches; several of which were built by Palladio, and several others from his designs. Of the two votive temples—the Redentore, and the S. Maria della Salute—both of them erected by that architect on the cessation of a pestilence, the first is represented by Forsyth as "admirable in plan and elevation. The interior elevation is perhaps perfect in its proportions, simple, grand, harmonious. One unbroken entablature, surmounting one unvaried Corinthian, reigns round the church. Its cornice, indeed, is one of the improprieties established in the interior of all churches; and the angles flattened at the cross, we must impute to the cupola. The Salute, (he continues), is much admired. It is magnificent, to be sure, and lofty and rich; but it runs into too many angles and projections, too many 'coignes of vantage,' both without and within. It spires into a pyramid from the very basement up to the cupolas, but those cupolas screen each other, and are shored up with vile inverted consoles."

The San Giorgio, another of Palladio's works, is described by the same critic as less pure in its design, but still worthy of Palladio. "Both without and within are two different orders rising from the same pavement to

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"Andiamo a Rialto"—"L'ora di Rialto"—were on every tongue; and continue so to the present day, as we learn from the comedies of Goldoni, and particularly from his Mercanti.

There is a place adjoining, called Rialto Nuovo; and so called, according to Sansovino, "perche fu fabbricata dopo il vecchio."—*Notes to Rogers's Italy.*

different heights. The inner entablature starts out over each capital. The transepts seem too long for the nave, and the cupola too small. On the walls is a fine assemblage of marbles. The chief cloister, though supported by coupled columns, is nobly elevated; the windows grand; their pediments, as usual in Palladio's works, are alternately angular and curved."

San Francesco della Vigna, a fourth work of Palladio's, ranks lower in the scale of architectural merit than either of the preceding. "Its front, like S. Georgio's, has two wings, each covered with half a pediment. The pediment in the middle is entire, and contains an eagle cooped in a circle."

Many of the Venetian churches, more especially that of the Jesuits, the Moizè, the Scalzi, S. Maria Zobenigo, &c., exhibit richness of decoration rather than elegance of design. The Giosuati is remarkable both for a portal which emulates the Pantheon, and for a pleasing gradation of ornament within, "where the statues form one range, relievos another, and imitations of relief reign round the vault."

PALACES.—"The palaces stand on grand Etruscan substructions, which, from the necessity of the element, must be simple and uniform. Above the water-floor they are as various as their architects. Some display the light elegance of Sansovino, others the exuberant ornament of Longhena, and a few the correct beauty of Palladio. They in general affect too many orders in front; each order has, absurdly enough, its full entablature; the

lower cornices are as prominent as the upper, and appear in profile so many separate roofs. In fact, the Grecian orders, being foreign to the manners and wants of a city built upon water, will never enter into its accommodations but at the expense of half their beauty and all their consistency.

" Most palaces have two gates, some three, in the middle of their fronts. On each side are two ranges of equal windows in the basement alone. Over the gates is a stately and decorated superstructure of balconies, arcades, and gigantic windows, contrived for Venetian pageantry; and set in studied opposition to the general style of the front, which this wide vertical breech divides into two. The windows are generally arched. In modern palaces their arch is circular, in some of the ancient it forms arabesque curves of contrary flexion, which contrast finely with the flat mass of wall. In a Cornaro and a Grimani palace, both on the Grand Canal, I remarked the Gothic church window, and that not in its most elegant intersections. The chimneys figure on those palaces more conspicuously than so sordid an object should do, in imitation of obelisks, bells, and candelabra reversed*."

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* Williams seems to have differed from Forsyth on this point. " In Italy," says he, " more variety and taste are occasionally displayed in the chimneys than in the buildings to which they belong. These chimneys are as peculiar and characteristic as palm-trees in a tropical climate, and impress us strongly with the idea of distance from home. In Calabria and other parts of Italy, and in the Ionian Islands, we were very forcibly struck with the consequence which

Many of these palaces are still rich in the works of the great masters of the Venetian school. The Ducal palace, more especially, abounds with frescos on a very large scale, among which are some celebrated allegorical pieces by Paul Veronese*, Tintoretto's Paradise, and Palma's Last Judgment. Paul Veronese's works display the exuberance of ornament, both with regard to dress and architectural embellishment peculiar to that painter. Tintoretto's Paradise is remarkable rather for its great size, and the almost countless multitude of figures which it contains, than for happiness of arrangement or brilliance of colouring. Palma's Last Judgment, though it avoids the confusion of Tintoretto's work, is not exempt from those whimsical extravagances in which the old masters so frequently indulged. In this picture, for example, the painter has not scrupled to introduce two portraits of his mistress; placing her in one instance with the elect, in the other with the condemned. The great council-chamber contains a series of frescos representing the triumphs of the republic, real or imaginary, over Frederick Barbarossa. One of these performances exhibits the suppliant Pope discovered by the Doge; another, the imperial gallies defeated by the Venetians; a third, young Otho, their prisoner, bearing to his father the terms offered by the conqueror; a fourth, the em-

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the beauty of the chimneys imparted to the character of the whole building."—*Travels in Italy and Greece*, Vol. i. 74.

* See the Appendix, p. 313.

peror himself prostrate at St. Mark's, and the Pontiff placing his foot upon his neck.

Indeed the splendid chambers of the Ducal palace, decorated with paintings commemorating the most brilliant exploits and the most signal examples of the ancient power and glory of Venice, form a striking and melancholy contrast with its present humiliated condition. The Venetians, however, amidst all the degradation to which they are now reduced, exultingly appeal to their fourteen centuries of pretended independence; thus endeavouring to derive some comfort from the reflection, that their republic enjoyed a longer continuance of freedom from a foreign yoke than any other people on record —a sort of consolation, as Mathews observes, "something like king Arthur's in Tom Thumb, who congratulates himself on having outlived all his neighbours:"—

> Thus all our pack upon the floor is cast,
> And my sole boast is, that I die the last.

Titian's works, as might be expected, abound at Venice, but among them all none is more celebrated than the Martyrdom, as it is called, of a St. Peter (a Dominican monk), in the church of St. Paul. This picture, in which, according to Algarotti, the greatest masters confessed "themselves unable to detect even the shadow of a fault," is equally admirable both for the historical part—representing the assassin, the dying monk, and his terrified companion in the act of flight—and for the landscape. With regard to this latter branch of the subject,

Sir Joshua Reynolds, echoing an observation of Algarotti's*, observes:—"The same excellence of manner that Titian displayed in history and portrait-painting is equally conspicuous in his landscapes, whether they are professedly such, or serve only as backgrounds. One of the most eminent of this latter kind is to be found in the picture of St. Peter the Martyr. The large trees here introduced are plainly distinguished from each other by the different manner with which the branches shoot from their trunks, as well as by their different foliage, and the weeds in the foreground are varied in the same manner, just as much as variety requires, and no more."

In this church are the monuments of the two Palmas, and that of Titian; though the remains of the latter were interred in the church of S. Maria de' Fiori, where a plain stone, inscribed with the following distich, marks the spot:—

Qui giace il gran Tiziano di Vecelli,
Emulator de' Zeuzi e degli Apelli.

The Gondola—a light, sharp-beaked boat, with a

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* Tiziano, il più gran confidente della Natura, è tra' paesisti l'Omero. Tanto hanno di verità i suoi siti, di varietà, di freschezza, t' invitano a passeggiarvi dentro: e forse il più bel paese, che fosse mai dipinto, è quello della tavola del S. Pietro Martire, dove dalla diversità dei tronchi, delle foglie, dal portamento vario dei rami uno può scorgere la differenza che è da albero a albero; dove i terreni sono così bene spezzati e camminano con garbo tanto naturale; dove un Botanico andrebbe ad erbolare.—*Saggio sopra la Pittura*, p. 87.

steel head protruding like the neck of a swan—affords an agreeable mode of visiting the different quarters of Venice. The tented cabin however, with which it is invariably provided, and which, owing to an ancient sumptuary law of the republic, is always covered with black cloth, gives it a somewhat funereal appearance.

The gondoliers, though they no longer make a practice of singing the verses of Tasso, are still much addicted to music; and, at a short distance, a stranger might still indulge the idea that he was listening to the strains of the Gerusalemme. On this subject, the author of some remarks, which appeared in the Curiosities of Literature, has furnished an exact, as well as agreeable, description:—

"In Venice (says he) the gondoliers know by heart long passages from Ariosto and Tasso, and often chant them with a peculiar melody. But this talent seems at present on the decline: at least, after taking some pains, I could find no more than two persons who delivered to me in this way a passage from Tasso.

"I entered a gondola by moonlight; one singer placed himself forwards, and the other aft, and thus proceeded to San Georgio. One began the song: when he had ended his strophe, the other took up the lay, and so continued the song alternately. Throughout the whole of the song the same notes invariably returned, but, according to the subject matter of the strophe, they laid a greater or a smaller stress, sometimes on one, and sometimes on another note, and indeed changed the enunciation of the whole strophe as the subject of the poem altered.

" On the whole, however, the sounds were hoarse and screaming: they seemed, in the manner of all rude uncivilized men, to make the excellence of their singing consist in the force of their voice: one seemed desirous of conquering the other by the strength of his lungs, and so far from receiving delight from this scene, (shut up as I was in the box of the gondola), I found myself in a very unpleasant situation.

" My companion, to whom I communicated this circumstance, being very desirous to keep up the credit of his countrymen, assured me that this singing was very delightful when heard at a distance. Accordingly we got out upon the shore, leaving one of the singers in the gondola, while the other went to the distance of some hundred paces. They now began to sing against one another, and I kept walking up and down between them both, so as always to leave him who was to begin his part. I frequently stood still and hearkened to the one and to the other.

" Here the scene was properly introduced. The strong declamatory, and, as it were, shrieking sound, met the ear from far, and called forth the attention; the quickly succeeding transitions, which necessarily required to be sung in a lower tone, seemed like plaintive strains succeeding the vociferations of emotion or of pain. The other, who listened attentively, immediately began where the former left off, answering him in milder or more vehement notes, according as the purport of the strophe required. The sleepy canals, the lofty buildings, the

splendour of the moon, the deep shadows of the few gondolas, that moved like spirits hither and thither, increased the striking peculiarity of the scene; and amidst all these circumstances it was easy to confess the character of this wonderful harmony.

" It suits perfectly well with an idle solitary mariner, lying at length in his vessel at rest on one of these canals, waiting for his company, or for a fare, the tiresomeness of which situation is somewhat alleviated by the songs and poetical stories he has in memory. He often raises his voice as loud as he can, which extends itself to a vast distance over the tranquil mirror, and as all is still around, he is, as it were, in a solitude in the midst of a large and populous town. Here is no rattling of carriages, no noise of foot passengers: a silent gondola glides now and then by him, of which the splashings of the oars are scarcely to be heard.

" At a distance he hears another, perhaps utterly unknown to him. Melody and verse immediately attach the two strangers; he becomes the responsive echo to the former, and exerts himself to be heard as he had heard the other. By a tacit convention they alternate verse for verse: though the song should last the whole night through, they entertain themselves without fatigue: the hearers, who are passing between the two, take part in the amusement.

" This vocal performance sounds best at a great distance, and is then inexpressibly charming, as it only fulfils its design in the sentiment of remoteness. It is plain-

tive, but not dismal in its sound, and at times it is scarcely possible to refrain from tears. My companion, who otherwise was not a very delicately organized person, said quite unexpectedly—'è singolare come quel canto intenerisce, e molto più quando lo cantano meglio.'"

NATURE OF THE VENETIAN GOVERNMENT.

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery, thou art a bitter draught!—STERNE.

"THE vicissitudes of empires offer to the imagination no subject of more intense interest, than the long grandeur and the fall of Venice. Emerging from the bosom of the waves in the darkest ages of Italian misery, the Queen of the Adriatic—herself immoveable—became a mournful spectator of the long agony and dissolution of the Roman empire. For thirteen hundred years she witnessed in security the subsequent ravages of continental wars, the rise and declension of nations, the change of dynasties, the whole awful drama of human fate; until, 'the last surviving witness of antiquity, the common link between two periods of civilization,' she fell in her turn, and has reached the very lowest depths of abasement.

"The existence of Venice may be dimly traced even in the obscurity of the long night which veiled the settlement of the northern tribes in Italy; her early liberty and commerce were the day-springs of modern civilization; and when the barons of Champagne and Flanders meditated the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre in the fourth crusade, they were fain to solicit the maritime co-operation of her who was already become the mistress of the Adriatic. In the rudeness and fervour of their religious

zeal, they prostrated themselves with tears and supplications before the haughty merchant-kings of Venice. Their gold purchased the aid which they sought; but their enthusiasm was succeeded by wonder at the resources of the city, which could equip five hundred vessels for their service. The memorable diversion of their sacred expedition against the Greek empire, and the conquest of Constantinople, poured the treasures of the East into the lap of Venice; and her division of the spoil justified her doges in assuming the proud and accurate title of 'Dukes of three-eighths of the empire of Romania.' It was then that the trophies of Grecian art were transplanted to adorn the Place of St. Mark, and that the banners of her patron saint floated over the fairest islands of the Grecian seas. It was then too that the republic began successfully to assert her exclusive navigation and sovereignty of the Adriatic; and that her doges first observed the annual ceremony of dropping a consecrated ring into the waves, as a symbol that, by such an espousal, the sea should be subject to them, as a bride to her lord.

"With the conquest of Constantinople commenced the meridian splendour of Venice; and her star maintained its ascendant for three hundred years. The revival of the eastern empire deprived the republic of her portion of its capital; but she retained her possessions in the eastern seas; and a vast and increasing commerce swelled her enormous wealth. She held

> . . . . . the gorgeous East in fee,
> And was the safeguard of the West.

As the Greek empire crumbled into dust before the power of the sultans, Venice became the maritime bulwark of Christendom against their ferocious hostility. The Ottoman grandeur had not yet passed its zenith, when the republic was already on the decline; she was often forced into unequal collision with the gigantic masses and furious energy of the Turkish power; but even weakened as she was, Venice nobly braved the tempests of war with the infidel; and, by the constancy with which she maintained these stupendous conflicts, broke the violence and exhausted the force of that storm which had menaced Christian Europe with destruction.

" The achievements of Venice in the east are as a silken thread of romance, continually interwoven in the long tissue of her annals. But her whole history is invested with a peculiar and striking character. Her deadly and protracted rivalry with Genoa; her heroic defence against that republic and other enemies in the desperate war of Chiozza; the singular career in which, with a native population composed only of marines, she extended her dominion over great part of Lombardy, and held the political balance of Italy; the envy and hatred which she excited in other nations; and the general coalition of Europe, which she provoked and repelled;—all these are circumstances of the highest historical attraction. But even these yield in interest to the fearful and imposing spectacle which is offered by the constitution and policy of her government—the gloomiest fabric of real despotism ever erected for the pretended security of republican freedom. History has no parallel to that

silent, mysterious, inexorable tyranny; a tyranny to its subjects,

> . . . . . Subtle, invisible,
> And universal as the air they breathed;
> A power that never slumbered, nor forgave,
> All eye, all ear, nowhere and everywhere*;
> Entering the closet and the sanctuary,
> Most present when least thought of—nothing dropt
> In secret when the heart was on the lips;
> Nothing in feverish sleep, but instantly
> Observed and judged—a power, that if but glanced at
> In casual converse, be it where it might,
> The speaker lowered at once his eyes, his voice,
> And pointed upwards, as to God in heaven!

"Yet under this dark and relentless administration, Venice was the throne of pleasure, the chosen seat not only of Italian but of European festivity. The imagination may

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* A Frenchman of high rank, who had been robbed at Venice and had complained in conversation of the negligence of the police, saying that they were vigilant only as spies on the stranger, was on his way back to the Terra Firma, when his gondola stopped suddenly in the midst of the waves. He inquired the reason; and his gondoliers pointed to a boat with a red flag, that had just made them a signal. It arrived; and he was called on board. "You are the Prince de Craon? Were you not robbed on Friday evening?—I was.—Of what?—Of five hundred ducats.—And where were they?—In a green purse.—Do you suspect any body?—I do, a servant.—Would you know him again?—Certainly." The interrogator with his foot turned aside an old cloak that lay there; and the Prince beheld his purse in the hand of a dead man. "Take it; and remember that none set their feet again in a country where they have presumed to doubt the wisdom of the government."—*Notes to Rogers's Italy.*

now fondly linger over what was then the present source of pride and gratification to the ambitious, the busy, and the gay—her picturesque situation, throned on her hundred isles—the magnificence of her Palladian structures—her churches and palaces of every style and decoration, slumbering on their shadows in the 'long-drawn aisles of her canals'—her docks, and her arsenals, stored with all the furniture of war—her quays so strangely crowded with the mingled costumes of the eastern and western world—glittering with the pageant, or heaped with costly merchandise—echoing the stream of music, the peal of merriment, or the busy hum of commerce. But her palaces and her prisons were contiguous; and while the masque and the revel encircled the edifice of government, that ancient pile covered abodes of misery, from which mercy and hope were alike excluded. During the gayest hours of Venetian pleasure, in the throng of the casino, or in the mazes of the carnival, individuals disappeared from society, and were heard of no more: to breathe an inquiry after their fate was a dangerous imprudence; even to mourn their loss was an act of guilt. Before the secret council of government, the informer was never confronted with the accused; the victim was frequently denied a hearing, and hurried to death, or condemned to linger for life in the dungeons of state; his offence and its punishment untried and unknown*."

It was about the middle of the fifth century, that the

* See Quarterly Review, No. xxxvii.

Veneti, a people inhabiting a small district of Italy, joined by a few of the inhabitants of Padua and others from the neighbourhood of the Po, sought an asylum from the fury of Attila among the islets and marshes at the head of the Adriatic Gulf. Previous to that time, indeed, some fishermen had erected huts on one of the islets called Rialto. But when Attila had destroyed Aquileia considerable numbers from the neighbouring districts fled to Rialto; which, with the adjoining isles, took the name of Venice from the Veneti, who constituted the largest portion of the earlier refugees. The Venetians, though at first subject to Padua, soon threw off the yoke*. The irruption of the Lombards into Italy also contributed to the rising power of Venice, by augmenting the number of refugees.

At first the government was democratical; a tribune being appointed to administer justice in each islet. These tribunes were elected annually, by a general assembly of the people, to whom also they were responsible for their conduct at the expiration of their year of office.

This form of government lasted about a hundred-and-fifty years. At length, owing to the misconduct of some of the tribunes, the dissentions among others, and the suspicions harboured by the people that these dissentions

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* The Venetians boast that they were never subject to any yoke. A little work, however, called the "Squittinio della Libertà Veneta," published in 1612, proves, beyond dispute, the early dependence of Venice upon the Western Empire, the Goths, and the German Emperors.

were fomented by the Lombards with a view to effect their subjugation, it was resolved to elect a chief magistrate, who, it was hoped, would direct the resources of the state with greater promptitude and energy than had been displayed by the tribunes. This chief magistrate, who was called Duke or Doge, was invested with the power of nominating to all the inferior offices of the state, as well as of making peace or declaring war. The first Doge elected—for it was an elective office, to be held for life—was Paul Luke Anafeste, chosen in the year 697.

In the councils called on any matter of importance, this Doge sent messages to such of the citizens as he most esteemed for their judgment, *praying* them to give him the benefit of their advice. The same method was observed by his successors, and the citizens so sent for were called *Pregadi*, or the *Requested*.

The two first Doges used their authority with moderation and ability: the third, endeavouring to enslave his countrymen, perished in the attempt. The office of Doge was forthwith abolished; and the chief magistrate, who was now styled *Master of the Militia*, was to retain his authority only for a year. This system, however, was but of short duration; for, at the end of five years, the office of Doge was restored in the person of the son of that very individual who had so lately been put to death for abusing his power. This restoration happened about the year 730.

Though the Venetian annals of this early period abound with fearful instances of cruelty, revolt, and as-

sassination—the Doges abusing their authority, and labouring to perpetuate their power by associating their sons in the government—and the people vindicating their rights by inflicting summary punishment on these ambitious rulers—yet for the space of four hundred years no change took place in the constitution of the government. It was not till the eleventh century that the audacious attempt of a member of the Urseolo family to seat himself, without even the forms of popular suffrage, on the throne which several of his ancestors had occupied with honour, caused a law to be passed forbidding the reigning Doge from associating a son in the administration for the future.

Till the year 1173, the only tribunal was one consisting of forty judges. This court—called the Council of Forty—which had been established for many years, and which took cognizance of all causes, civil as well as criminal, undertook, during the anarchy which followed the murder of the Doge Michieli, to remodel the constitution.

Hitherto the people possessed considerable privileges. They had votes in the assemblies; and, though the descendants of the ancient tribunes and of the Doges formed a sort of patrician order, yet they enjoyed no exclusive privileges. The Council of Forty, however, now caused it to be enacted that each of the six divisions of the city —called *Sestiers*—should annually nominate two electors; that these twelve electors should be invested with the right of choosing, from among the whole body of the people, 480 counsellors, who should be called the Grand

Council*, and should have the same power, in all respects, that the general assembly of the people formerly possessed.

To conceal the tendency of this law, it was pretended that its sole object was to prevent confusion; that the right of election still lay with the people; and that, by changing the counsellors annually, they who were passed over one year might entertain hopes of being elected the next. Thus the people suffered themselves to be cajoled; not foreseeing that this enactment went directly to diminish their own importance, and to lay the foundation of an oligarchy.

The Council of Forty next turned their attention towards limiting the authority of the Doge, To this end they proposed, that the Grand Council should annually appoint six persons, one from each division of the city, who should form the privy council of the Doge, and, without whose approbation, none of his orders should be valid; so that, instead of appointing his own privy council, which had hitherto been the custom, the authority of the chief magistrate was made thenceforward to depend, in

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* This Grand Council of 480, instead of electing the Doge by a majority of their votes, selected four persons from their own body, each of whom had the privilege of nominating ten; and the forty thus nominated had the appointing of the Doge. Subsequently, in order to ensure the convenience of a casting vote, the number was increased to forty-one. In 1268 a much more complicated mode of election was adopted, by ballot; but the number of electors was still the same.

great measure, on the will of six individuals, who, themselves, depended on the Grand Council.

Lastly, it was proposed to form a senate, consisting of sixty members, which were to be elected annually out of the Grand Council. This assembly was to supply the place of that which the Doge formerly had the power of convoking, on any emergency, by requesting the advice and assistance of those citizens in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The members of this new senate were still called Pregadi.

In the year 1206, immediately after the death of Dandolo, six new magistrates, called Correctors, were created —an appointment repeated at every subsequent interregnum. Their duty was to examine into all abuses that might have crept into the constitution during the reign of the preceding Doge, and report upon them to the senate, that a remedy might be applied, and their recurrence provided against, previous to the election of a successor*.

Though the people had experienced many mortifying deviations from the old constitution, yet, as the Grand

* In the reign of Peter Ziani, who succeeded Dandolo, a court for civil causes, denominated the Tribunal of Forty, was created. This court, to which there lay an appeal from the decisions of all inferior magistrates in civil causes tried *within* the city, must not be confounded with the Council of Forty formerly mentioned, whose jurisdiction was now confined to criminal causes. The tribunal in question afterwards received the name of the *old* civil Court of Forty, to distinguish it from a third court, also consisting of forty members, established at a subsequent period, for the purpose of deciding on appeals, in all civil causes, from the judgments of the inferior courts *without* the city.

Council was chosen annually, by electors of their own nomination, they flattered themselves that they still retained an important share in the government. The Doge Gradonico stripped them even of this vestige of power. In 1297 a law was made, by which it was ordained, that such as actually belonged to the Grand Council should continue members of it for life; and that the same privilege should devolve upon their descendants, without any form of election whatever. This was at once forming a body of hereditary legislators, and establishing a complete aristocracy.

The two formidable conspiracies occasioned by this unpopular measure, gave rise to the famous court called the Council of Ten, which was now erected into a temporary tribunal for the purpose of watching the movements of the conspirators, and bringing them to justice.

In 1354, it was proposed, by the Correctors of Abuses, that, for the future, the three chiefs of the Council of Forty should be members of the College or Signory, which formed the supreme cabinet council of the state. It may be proper to mention that the Signory was originally composed of the Doge and six counsellors only; but to these were added, in the first place—six of the Grand Council, chosen by the senate, and called Savi, or Sages, from their supposed wisdom—next, five others, whose business it was to superintend the dependencies of the republic on Terra Firma, and thence styled the Savi di Terra Firma—and, lastly, five other Savi for maritime affairs. The Signory, therefore, after the addition of the three chiefs of the Council of Forty, consisted of six-and-twenty members.

The Council of Ten consisted, in effect, of seventeen members; for, besides the ten annually chosen by the Grand Council—from whom the Council of Ten received its name—the Doge presided, and the six counsellors of the Signory assisted, when they thought proper, at its deliberations. The ten annually chosen by the Grand Council were called the ten black counsellors, from the colour of their robes of office; the six members of the Signory were styled the red counsellors, from a similar cause.

In the year 1454, a permanent committee of three persons was selected from among the Ten, called the Three Inquisitors of State. These three persons were invested with the power of deciding, without appeal, on the life of every individual in the state, from the highest to the lowest; not even the Doge himself being exempt from their jurisdiction*. At the corner of every street in Venice were affixed lions' mouths of iron, to serve as receptacles for anonymous informations—such informers, as expected a reward, taking care to cut off a little piece of their letter, which they produced when they made their claim. The Three Inquisitors were empowered to em-

* The State Inquisitors had keys to every apartment of the Ducal palace, and could, when they thought proper, penetrate into the very bed-chamber of the Doge, open his cabinet, and examine his papers. Of course they might command access to the house of every other individual in the state. They continued in office only one year, but were not responsible afterwards for their conduct while in authority; (Moore's View of Society, &c. in Italy); from which many of the above remarks on the government of Venice are extracted.

ploy spies, to seize all suspected persons, as well as to bring them to trial without confronting them with the accuser. If all the three agreed in opinion, they might then order the prisoner to be strangled in his cell, drowned in the Canal Orfano, or hanged privately under cover of night, just as they thought fit. Whatever was their decision, provided they did but agree among themselves, no further investigation was permitted to take place. If, however, any one of the three differed from his colleagues, the cause was to be decided by the whole Council of Ten. "Correre alla pena prima d'esaminar la colpa," was their favourite maxim. Even the members of the Council of Ten and of the Inquisition itself were subject to the same execrable tyranny. If either of the former was suspected of betraying his trust, he was to be taken off by poison; and the same system was pursued with regard to either of the latter; provided his colleagues did but gain the acquiescence of the Doge, and thus preserve the unanimity of three voices—a principle in all their measures.

"Such were the maxims which regulated the Venetian government, as they may be gathered from the enactments of the inquisitors of state; and abundant proof might be adduced that the practice was consonant to the principle. And yet how many lamentations have been poured forth over the lost independence of Venice! Such a charm, then, has the empty name of a republican constitution, that it can blind the judgment to the horrors of the foulest system of assassination and tyranny, the most deliberate violation of the laws of God, and the obligations of morality, that ever assumed the shape of human government!

" In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the rapid decline of the Venetian grandeur had already commenced. The progress of maritime discovery in the East had diverted the commerce of the world into other channels*; the conduits of her wealth and prosperity were dried up; and the war of the League of Cambray fatally aggravated her losses and consumed her treasures. During the remainder of that age, she was only dragged from the repose and oblivion, in which her senate studiously enveloped her, to sustain two ruinous struggles with the Porte, in the last of which, after a defence worthy indeed of her better days, she lost the valuable island of Cyprus. She then relapsed into the languid slumber which endured beyond the close of the sixteenth century. In the following age, we find her rallying her strength to curb the Spanish power in Italy, and to oppose the pretensions of the Roman See. In the decline of the house of Austria, she succeeded in maintaining her sovereignty over the Adriatic; but new wars with the Ottoman empire completed the exhaustion of her forces. The island of Candia followed the fate of Cyprus, after one of the most sanguinary contests on record; and though, while the Turkish arms were distracted by contests with the

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* . . . . . The unwelcome tidings came,
That in the Tagus had arrived a fleet
From India, from the region of the Sun,
Fragrant with spices—that a way was found,
A channel opened, and the golden stream
Turned to enrich another.—*Rogers.*

empire in the last years of the seventeenth century, she acquired a brief possession of the Morea, this was absolutely her last achievement. The peninsula was won with difficulty: it was lost, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, without an effort;—and Venice then fell from her place in history.

"During the last seventy years of her career, the name of Venice ceased to be heard in the discussions, the alliances, and the wars of the other states of Europe. Her commerce was annihilated; her manufactures had dwindled away; her revenues, during a long peace, fell far short of the expenses of her corrupt government; and her claim to the sovereignty of the Adriatic was now contemptuously violated. In the higher ranks all feelings of honour and patriotism had long been extinct; and the depravity of all classes continued to increase with frightful rapidity. If the state had not been perfidiously overthrown by the French, the epoch had arrived when it must have sunk under the weight of its own corruption; and our detestation at the tyranny of its betrayers is mingled with the conviction, that humanity has at least nothing to regret in the catastrophe*."

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* See Quarterly Review, No. xxxvii.

The Doge and the privy council yielded without a struggle at the first approach of the enemy; and, instead of dying "with harness on their backs," betrayed the interests of their country to make favourable terms for themselves with the conqueror . . . . . Such was the last inglorious act of a republic that had endured for fourteen hundred years. "Oh lame and impotent conclusion!"—*Mathews.*

JOURNEY TO MILAN.

Sive Padi ripis, Athesin seu propter amœnum.—Virg.

From Mestrè, where we disembarked on our departure from Venice, the road towards Padua runs along the banks of the Brenta, bordered with poplars, and here and there decked with the villas of the old Venetians, some in a state of decay, some still wearing a gay and pleasing, though formal, appearance. Their situation, however, is the worst part about them; for most of them have the road directly in front, and between them and the river, which is navigable. The view of the river is shut out from the lower windows by a high dyke, which does not, however, always secure the villas from the effects of floods; for they lie considerably below the level of the road, which is itself occasionally inundated. Higher up the stream, indeed, villas and villages are to be met with where there is no dyke to intercept the view; but towards Venice the Brenta loses all traces of the character which distinguishes it in the Bassanese, and stagnates into a wide canal conveyed between high banks through a succession of marshy meadows.

"Padua," to adopt the language of Rose, "is a city which, beyond all others, disappoints the expectations of the traveller. Its streets, flanked on both sides with arcades, present such an appearance of melancholy mono-

tony as leaves no room for regret that Nero did not realize, as he intended, the same design at Rome; though it is true that these afford a great convenience in the hot, and in the rainy season. Add dirt to dulness, and to that an air little superior to what is breathed by a cat in an air-pump, and you will have an adequate idea of Padua. The ugliness, however, of an Italian city is never unredeemed deformity; and even Padua has one pleasing and interesting feature in the Prà della Valle.

" The *Prà della Valle*, formerly a marsh, bears some resemblance to a London square; but the interior, the principal point of likeness, is inclosed and ornamented in a very different style. This is shut off by a circular branch of running water, brought from the Brenta, the banks of which are fringed with a double rank of statues, the exterior rank facing outwards, the interior, inwards. These are all worthies of the place; and it may be remarked, that this sort of apotheosis of their citizens (as here and at Verona) is peculiar to Venetian towns."

The following description of the same town, by the author of " Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy," though not altogether exempt from the affected sentimentality which pervades that work, may be quoted as another curious instance of the different light in which the same objects appear to different individuals.

" I spent two days in Old Padua. It is a place where I could for many weeks have lingered. I think it suited to a reading, sauntering man. There are long arcades, and there are old-fashioned houses, and old-fashioned furniture, and book-stalls at the street-corners. There

is a pleasant river, and there are green gardens, and turfy ramparts, and the snowy Alps are to be seen from them. The University is a very small building: it has a court with a cloister below and galleries above*; on the walls are many coats of arms of those who have studied at 'learned Padua.'

"In the centre of a large open space, or square, there is an adorned spot, called Prà della Valle. It is a circular meadow, with flagged walks, with a small canal round it. On either bank of this canal are placed the statues of all the famous men who have been taught at Padua. This island promenade, having seats, and shrubs, and ornamental monuments, and vases, magically guarded all round by these silent protectors of the fame of Old Padua, is a pleasant place to stroll in. You will meet no one, and may talk to yourself unobserved: indeed, you may do *that* anywhere in Italy; for moving lips and the gestures of delight or disappointment, as men walking along express these feelings, excite no astonishment in Italy. The church of S. Giustina, in a corner of this square, is a noble building, and the interior light and grand†. As you look at four large and four smaller cu-

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* In the Bo, you see the genius of Palladio (for at least the design was his) confined to limits which admit only elegance; and what portico is more truly elegant than that of the court—what colonnade more happily adjusted to the space given—what decoration more in harmony with its subject?—I mean Palladio's own decorations; for the barbarous crust of scutcheons on the walls is an insult offered by collegians to his shade.—*Forsyth.*

† "The church of S. Justina, designed by Palladio, is (says Ad-

polas from without, it is mosque-like. The church of S. Antonio, the tutelar saint, is a curious old Gothic edifice, with pictures, tombs, shrines, four organs, and, when I was in it, a most numerous congregation. After mass, the crowd of country devotees came flocking to the chapel of the sanctuary, where the relics of St. Anthony are preserved, and kissed every statue and small relief around it*. . . . . One of the finest and most singular buildings here is the large Hall or Palace of Justice. It is three hundred feet long and one hundred feet broad, and very lofty; yet is there no pillar or column to support the roof. The walls are painted in small compartments, with curious scenes and symbols.

" There are many other things to see here. Two rivers flow through the town. There are squares with porticos; there are the remains of the ancient city walls; there are some handsome gates; and as the space within

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dison) the most handsome, luminous, disencumbered building, in the inside, that I have ever seen." " Its Ionic aisles (says Forsyth) stand in that middle sphere, between the elegant and the sublime, which I would call the noble." This church, among its other treasures, boasts a Martyrdom of S. Justina, by Paul Veronese, and a Dead Christ by Periodi—" a grand composition in statuary, without one particle of the sublime."

* " St. Anthony's own chapel," says Forsyth, " is another *Santa Casa*, rough all over with marble relievos, and always crowded with the devout." Bembo's monument differs widely, both in the simplicity of its style and its inscription, from every other in the church:—

Ne cujus ingenii monumenta
Eterna sunt, ejus corporis quoque
Memoria posteritati desideretur.

the later fortifications (now all neglected) is large, you find gardens, and almost country-houses, within the gates. Every thing a man might require to make life easy would be procurable at Padua; and such men as love that old book, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, might carry it with them to a quiet lodging in Padua, and sit in the shade and eat grapes in the summer, and pile up a wood-fire and drink good wine in the winter, and live in peace. I am speaking only to college-hermits, or antiquaries, or weavers of old tales; solitary, forlorn men, unwedded, and without professions, or health for active life: such, (I am sure I do not err), such men would like Padua."

The cathedral is remarkable only as the depository of the legacy bequeathed by Petrarch to Francesco Carrara —a Madonna painted by Giotto.

Padua, as is well known, was the birth-place of Livy: not satisfied, however, with the lustre reflected upon their city by the Roman historian, the Paduans warmly claim Antenor for its founder*. "This patriotic vanity," observes Forsyth, "has rendered them the dupes of some gross impostures; as the Gothic tomb of their Antenor, and the monkish coffin of their Livy."

ARQUA.—"Arquà is twelve miles from Padua, and about three miles on the right of the high road to Ro-

* Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare sinus.—
Hic tamen ille urbem Pataví sedesque locavit
Teucrorum, &c.—*Virg. Æn.* i. 242.

vigo, in the bosom of the Euganean hills. After a walk of twenty minutes across a flat well-wooded meadow, you come to a little blue lake, clear but fathomless, and to the foot of a succession of acclivities and hills, clothed with vineyards and orchards, rich with fir and pomegranate trees, and every sunny fruit shrub. From the banks of the lake the road winds into the hills, and the church of Arquà is soon seen between a cleft where two ridges slope towards each other, and nearly inclose the village. The houses are scattered at intervals on the steep sides of these summits; and that of the poet is on the edge of a little knoll overlooking two descents, and commanding a view not only of the glowing gardens in the dales immediately beneath, but of the wide plains, above whose low woods of mulberry and willow, thickened into a dark mass by festoons of vines, tall single cypresses and the spires of towns are seen in the distance, as far as to the mouths of the Po and the shores of the Adriatic. The climate of these volcanic hills is warmer, and the vintage begins a week sooner, than in the plains of Padua. Petrarch is laid in a sarcophagus of red marble, raised on four pilasters on an elevated base, and preserved from association with meaner tombs. Petrarch's fountain—for here every thing is Petrarch's—springs beneath an artificial arch, a little below the church, and abounds plentifully, in the driest season, with that soft water which was the ancient wealth of the Euganean hills. The revolutions of centuries have spared these sequestered valleys, and the only violence which has been offered to the ashes of Petrarch was prompted, not by hate, but by

veneration. An attempt was made to rob the sarcophagus of its treasure, and one of the arms was stolen by a Florentine through a rent which is still visible.

" Petrarch retired to Arquà immediately on his return from the unsuccessful attempt to visit Urban V. at Rome, in the year 1370, and, with the exception of his celebrated visit to Venice, in company with Francesco Novello da Carrara, he appears to have passed the four last years of his life between that charming solitude and Padua. For four months previous to his death he was in a state of continual languor, and in the morning of July the 19th, in the year 1374, was found dead in his library chair with his head resting upon a book*:"—

> . . . . . But knock, and enter in.
> This was his chamber. 'Tis as when he went;
> As if he now were in his orchard-grove.
> And this his closet. Here he sat and read.
> This was his chair; and in it, unobserved,
> Reading, or thinking of his absent friends,
> He passed away as in a quiet slumber.—ROGERS.

From the inaptitude of our own language for the sonnet, evinced by the failure even of our most celebrated poets, an Englishman is disposed to look not without some degree of prejudice at such compositions even in the Italian. Nor can it be denied, that the singular predilection of the Italians for the sonnet has had an injurious effect upon their poetry. " Confined to so narrow

* Notes to Canto iv. of Childe Harold.

a compass, it (the sonnet) admits not of that extent and range of ideas which suggest themselves to a mind already warm with its subject. On the contrary, it illustrates only some one distinct idea, and this must be extended or condensed, not as its nature requires, but as the rigid laws of the composition prescribe*. One of the highest excellencies of a master in this art consists, therefore, in the selection of a subject neither too long nor too short for the space which it is intended to occupy. Hence the invention is cramped, and the free excursions of the mind are fettered and restrained. Hence, too, the greater part of these compositions display rather the glitter of wit than the fire of genius; and hence they have been almost solely appropriated to the illustration of the passion of love: a subject which, from its various nature, and the endless analogies of which it admits, is more susceptible than any other of being apportioned into those detached sentiments of which the sonnet is composed†."

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* Ce lit de Procruste (says Sismondi, in treating of the sonnet), comme l'a ingénieusement appelé un Italien, reduit toutes les pensées à une même longueur, celle de quatorze vers: si cette pensée est trop courte, il faut la tirailler cruellement pour l'étendre jusqu'à cette mésure commune; si elle est trop longue, il faut la tronquer barbarement pour l'y faire entrer. To those then who thus court unnecessary difficulty may we not well say, in the words of the poet to whom Sismondi alludes:—

In questo di Procruste orrido letto
Chi ti sforza a giacer? Forse in rovina
Andrà Parnaso senza il tuo sonetto?

† Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.—Vol. i. 273.

"ABANO is about three miles from the *Euganean* hills; and the houses, occupied by those who resort to the place for the benefit of its muds and waters, are yet nearer, all situated in an extensive plain. From this rises a sort of natural tumulus, of a figure nearly circular, about fifteen feet in height, and a hundred in circumference, consisting of calcareous stone, tufo, and other materials indicative of a volcanic origin.

"From this mount burst two or three copious streams of boiling water. A part of these serves to fill the baths and pits for heating the muds; a part loses itself in the ditches of the surrounding meadows, and a part turns the wheels of a mill, which whirls amidst volumes of smoke.

"There are other springs of the same nature, and having all of them more or less of medicinal virtue; which procured this place the ancient name of Aponon (α, πονος).

"All similar spots are supposed to have been honoured by the visits or residence of demigods. Abano boasts the presence of Hercules himself, who is supposed to have ploughed two long furrows, visible in a marble rock, perhaps made for the distribution of the waters.

Præterea grandes effossi marmore sulci
Saucia longinquo limite saxa secant:
Herculei (sic fama refert) monstratur aratri
Semita, vel casus vomeris egit opus.—CLAUD. DE APONO.

Moreover furrows cut through solid blocks
Of marble, in long lines divide the rocks:
Alcides' plough ('tis rumoured) laid them bare,
Or chance performed the function of the share.—ROSE.

" Abano is now famed for its muds, which are taken out of hot basins, and applied either generally or partially, as the case of the patient may demand. These are afterwards thrown aside, and at the conclusion of the season returned to the hot fountains, where they are left till the ensuing spring, that they may impregnate themselves afresh with the mineral virtues of the water, the most obvious of which are salt and sulphur. When taken out, the muds are intensely hot, and must be kneaded and stirred some time before they can be borne. When applied, an operation which very much resembles the taking of a stucco cast, they retain their heat without much sensible diminution for three quarters of an hour, having the effect of a slight rubefacient on the part affected, and producing a profuse perspiration from the whole body, more especially in the part to which they are applied. Hence heat is considered as so essentially seconding their operations, that this watering or mudding-place is usually nearly deserted by the end of August; though there are some who continue to wallow on through the whole of September.

" The baths, being supposed to open the pores and dispose the skin to greater susceptibility, though sometimes considered as a remedy in themselves, are most generally held to be mere auxiliaries to the muds, and usually serve but as a prologue and interlude to the dirty performance above mentioned*."

* Rose's Letters from the North of Italy.

Though there is doubtless much truth in the remark, that "there is nothing more pleasing to a traveller—or more terrible to travel-writers, than a large rich plain, presenting nothing to the eye but one unvaried picture of plenty; for, after they have once told you that it is delicious! or delightful! (as the case happens)—that the soil is grateful, and that Nature pours out all her abundance—they have then a large plain upon their hands, which they know not what to do with—and which is of little or no use to them but to carry them to some town; and that town, perhaps, of little more, but as a new place to start from through the next plain—and so on;"—though there is much truth in all this, yet an exception may, perhaps, be pleaded in favour of the rich plain of Lombardy, which, notwithstanding its deficiency in the picturesque, is yet interesting from the nature of its produce, and the classical recollections which it recals. Thus, in the neighbourhood of Padua, the whole plain is one continued vineyard, and the vine is not here the dwarfish plant that it is in so many other places, but is trained to hang—

> . . . . . The vines in light festoons
> From tree to tree, the trees in avenues,
> And every avenue a covered walk
> Hung with black clusters.

"This manner of cultivating the vine in Italy, though differing from the more approved method of France, Switzerland, and Germany, is the very same as that which prevailed among the ancient Romans. To marry it with the maple, the elm, or the poplar, is certainly

far more picturesque than to cut it down annually, and support its renovated shoots by poles of four feet long. The superiority of the latter practice, however, is evident from the greater excellence of the wines in the countries where it is followed. The Italian, however, adheres to the practice of his forefathers:—

> . . . . . Adultâ vitium propagine
> Altas maritat populos.—Hor.
>
> . . . . . His marriageable vines
> Around the lofty bridegroom elms he twines.—Francis.

And who would not willingly compromise, for a wine of somewhat inferior flavour, to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the fantastic branches of the vine twisting themselves about the arms of the trees which sustain them, and hanging in graceful festoons along successive avenues? At the same time it must be confessed that the system of cultivation alone is not sufficient to account for the inferiority of the Lombard wines; for those of Tuscany, where the same system prevails, are delicious*." Perhaps, the real cause may be, that the plain of Lombardy is composed of alluvial soil, not only too rich but too well-watered for the vine, which loves a dry soil, and delights in rocks and acclivities. Hence the proverb, "Bacchus amat colles," a proverb, of which not only Tuscany, but the Euganean hills, and the neighbourhood of Vicenza and Verona, attest the truth. From Virgil's apostrophe to the Rhætic grape, it would seem, however, that the wine produced

* Blunt's Vestiges, &c.

in the neighbourhood of this latter town enjoyed a higher reputation formerly than it does now:—

. . . . . Et quo te carmine dicam
Rhætica? Nec cellis ideò contende Falernis.—GEORG. ii. 95.

How shall I praise the Rhætian grape divine,
Which yet contends not with Falernian wine?—DRYDEN.

" But whatever may be the effect of the above system as regards the quality of the wine, there is one advantage attending it, and one by no means inconsiderable in a country possessing so little pasturé land as Italy; the foliage of the trees of the vineyard supplies a quantity of green food for the cattle. The leaves, when sufficiently expanded, are stripped off into bags; a process which has the additional merit of laying open the clusters to the sun.

" It was not till I had observed this practice in Italy that I understood the exact meaning of several passages in the Eclogues of Virgil; that in the first, for instance:

Hinc altâ sub rupe canet frondator ad auras.

While from the neighbouring rocks, with rural songs,
The pruner's voice the pleasing dream prolongs.—BLUNT.

Or that in the ninth:—

. . . . Hic, ubi densas
Agricolæ stringunt frondes:

Where hinds are stripping the luxuriant leaves:

where the husbandmen are described as employed, not

merely in dressing the vine itself, but in stripping off the leaves of the elm on which it rested. In the line

> Semiputata tibi frondosâ vîtis in ulmo est:—Ecloo. ii. 70.
>
> Half pruned thy vine, and leafy is thy elm:—

I had been accustomed to think, that the reproach of neglect was conveyed in the word *semiputata*—the plant had been left half pruned; but it is no less implied in the expression *frondosa*, which is not here an idle epithet, but intended to signify that the operation of plucking the foliage of the elm had been disregarded, as well as that of dressing the vine.

" It appears from Cato (de Re Rusticâ), that the purpose for which these leaves then served was the same as that for which they are used now. ' Give to your oxen,' says he, ' the leaves of the elm, the poplar, the oak, and the fig, as long as you have them;' and he offers the same advice with respect to sheep.

" With regard to the propagation of the vine, it is effected by cuttings planted in trenches four feet deep, stones having been previously thrown into the trench. How exactly does this system accord with the recommendation of the poet:—

> . . . . . Quæcunque premes virgulta per agros,
> Sparge fimo pingui, et multâ memor occule terrâ:
> Aut lapidem bibulum, aut squalentes infode conchas,
> Inter enim labentur aquæ.—Georg. ii. 346.
>
> For what remains, in depth of earth secure
> The covered plants, and dung with hot manure;

And shells and gravel in the ground inclose,
For through their hollow chinks the water flows.—DRYDEN.

" The present method of raising the olive in Italy must not be passed over. An old tree is hewn down, and the *ceppo*, or stock, is cut into pieces of nearly the size and shape of a mushroom, which from that circumstance are called *novoli;* care at the same time being taken that a small portion of bark shall belong to each *novolo.* These, after having been dipped in manure, are put into the earth, soon throw up shoots, are transplanted at the end of one year, and in three years are fit to form an olive-yard.

" This process appears to clear up a passage in the Georgics, on which many comments have been made:"—

Quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu,
Truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno.—ii. 30.

The stock in slices cut, and forth shall shoot,
O passing strange! from each dry slice a root.—BLUNT*.

The mulberry, one of the trees most frequently met with in Lombardy, is sometimes used as a prop to the vine; but whether applied to that purpose or not, it is cultivated less for the fruit than the leaves, which are stripped off twice a year as food for the silkworms.

Here, as well as in Tuscany†, a very common mode of letting the lands is that of dividing the produce equally

* Blunt's Vestiges, &c.
† See Vol. i. p. 170, 17

between landlord and tenant—a method which, as Blunt observes, appears to have been derived from very ancient times. "The landlord," says he, "whose passion for a town life permits him but seldom to visit his estate, appoints some trusty person, called a *fattore* or factor, to reside upon it with a fixed salary. It is the business of this fattore to parcel out the lands amongst the families who live upon it, assigning to each a division proportioned to the number of hands it can muster; such a division is called a *Podere*—the occupiers *Contadini*. The rent is one half of the produce, be it corn, wine, oil, maize, beans, or any other crop. The stock, as the oxen for husbandry, in the first instance is supplied by the landlord, or *padrone*, for so he is named; if it is sold, the surplus above, or the deficit below the prime cost, is shared equally by the padrone and contadino; if it dies, the *whole* loss is in like manner equally sustained by the two parties.

"Horace's little Sabine farm appears to have been cultivated upon this plan. He had a *villicus*, or fattore, who seems to have superintended the five families of contadini, amongst whom it was parcelled out:—

> Villice sylvarum, et mihi me reddentis agelli,
> Quem tu fastidis, habitatum quinque focis.—Ep. i. 14.
>
> Steward of my woods and farm! a peaceful scene,
> Which gives me quiet, and which gives thee spleen;
> Tilled by five rustic households.—Blunt.

The *fattore* of the Italians answers to the *procurator*, *exactor*, or *villicus* of past times; the tenants, or *contadini*,

to the *coloni*, or *actores*. (Vid. Plin. Epist. iii. 19; ix. 37. Columell. i. 8)."

The vale of Lombardy, though composed almost everywhere of a very deep alluvial mould, is indebted for its great fertility as much to irrigation as to the natural richness of the soil. The Alps, which form the northern boundary of Lombardy, give rise to a multitude of torrents, which, emptying themselves into the great lakes at the foot of those mountains, are thence discharged with a regularity and steadiness highly favourable to irrigation. The plan usually adopted is, to open two principal canals, on different levels, and communicating with each other by an infinity of smaller ramifications. The first of these, called the Gora, or canal of irrigation, receives the water of the river at a point sufficiently elevated to enable it to reach the highest part of the lands intended to be irrigated; and, being carried along with as gentle an inclination as possible, is made to distribute its contents on all sides by a multitude of smaller branches. The other great canal, called the Scolo, or the canal of discharge, begins from the level of the lower grounds, carrying off the water which the Gora has previously distributed over the fields, and emptying itself into the river at a lower part of its course. To obtain the necessary difference of level between the Gora and the Scolo, the former is sometimes opened at a point of the river several miles distant from the lands over which the water is to be diffused.

To this system of irrigation, which prevails almost universally throughout Lombardy, may we attribute in

great measure the wonderful fertility of this celebrated vale, which possesses all the beauty that richness and cultivation can impart to a level country. " Cette vallée," says Chateauvieux, in his glowing but just description of it, " située aux pieds des plus grandes montagnes de l'Europe, étale auprès de leurs abîmes, tous les dons de la Providence et les richesses de la creation. Le soleil s'y montre pur et ardent, mais de grands arbres, en couvrant la campagne, la preservent de ses rayons. La sérénité du ciel dessécherait le sol; mais d'innombrables canaux y conservent, en l'arrosant, une verdure qui ne se flétrit jamais. Sous ces heureux auspices, on voit croître les moissons et fleurir les prairies. Ici chaque ferme est un palais rustique, où se déploie tout le luxe des champs. Et pour prévenir jusqu'aux dangers que pourrait avoir la chute des eaux dans les vallées, la même main qui a donné l'être à l'univers, a préparé, aux pieds des montagnes, des bassins naturels pour recevoir les torrens qui tombent des Alpes. Ils viennent prendre dans ces lacs un niveau constant, avant de s'ecouler en ondes paisibles, dans les lits, dont on leur a mesuré l'espace, et tracé le cours."

Vicenza has no ancient monuments to boast of, and owes whatever attraction it possesses to the genius of Palladio, who was a native of the place, and seems to have taken pride in its embellishment. Among the public edifices built or restored by him, are—the Town Hall (called *La Ragione*) where he had to contend with the coarsest Gothic—the Palazzo del Capitanio, the resi-

dence of the Podestà*—a Triumphal Arch leading to the Campo Marzo—and the Teatro Olimpico, where Palladio restored, what till then had been lost to the world, the interior of an ancient theatre. The proscenium is of wood, representing a magnificent arch looking down five diverging streets, also formed of wood, and built, as it were, in perspective.

Upwards of twenty of the Vicentine palaces are attributed to Palladio, most of them admired for their elegance. "Their beauty originates in the design, and is never superinduced by ornament. Their elevations enchant you, not by the length and altitude, nor by the materials and sculpture, but by the consummate felicity of their proportions, by the harmonious distribution of solid and void, by that happy something between flat and prominent, which charms both in front and profile; by that *maëstria* which calls in columns, not to encumber but to support, and reproduces ancient beauty in combinations unknown to the ancients themselves†."

On the outskirts of the town is a little hill, called Monte Berico, surmounted by a church dedicated to the Madonna del Monte. The ascent to the church is by a

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* An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas.—*Juv.* x. 100.

† Forsyth. Even Palladio, however, has not escaped criticism. Thus Rose objects to the intermixture of the circular and triangular pediment with which Palladio crowns his windows. "I never," says he, "see two of these ugly alternations, but it forces upon me the image of a person under an attack of paralysis, with one eyebrow quiescent in its accustomed curve, and the other screwed up into a triangle."

succession of inclined planes, for the most part under cover, like the approach to that of the Madonna di San Luca at Bologna.

This hill, to judge from the number of villas with which it is studded, is the favourite resort of the Vicentine gentry. Among these villas is the famous *rotondo*, as it is called, of Palladio—the model of the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. This structure—which owes its name to a large circular saloon in its centre, surmounted by a cupola—is in fact a square building, with four fronts, each front being approached by a flight of steps, and decorated with a portico of six plain Ionic columns, crowned by a pediment.

VERONA.—The old battlemented walls and towers of Verona, sweeping across the hill on the declivity of which the town is situated, together with the turrets of its Gothic castle, give it an imposing appearance at a distance. The town itself, divided by the rapid Adige, which here flows through a country charmingly diversified with hill and dale, is not unworthy of its site. Scaliger himself, in the opinion of Evelyn, has hardly been too lavish of his encomiums. "The situation," says Evelyn, "is the most delightful I ever saw; so sweetly is it mixed with rising ground and valleys, so elegantly planted with trees, on which Bacchus seems riding as it were in triumph every autumn—for the vines reach from tree to tree! Here, of all places I have seen in Italy, would I fix a residence. Well has that learned man given it the name of the very eye of the world:"—

Oculle mundi, Sidus Itali cæli,
Flos urbium, flos corniculumque amœnum,
Quot sunt, eruntve, quotve fuere, Verona.

Eustace seems to have regarded Verona in an equally favourable light; for, at his departure, we find him apostrophising it in what some, perhaps, would call the hyperbolical style of one of its own poets:—

Verona, qui te viderit,
Et non amarit protinus
Amore perditissimo,
Is, credo, se ipsum non amat,
Caretque amandi sensibus,
Et odit omnes gratias.—Cotta.

Whoe'er has seen Verona fair,
Nor placed his whole affection there,
Methinks the cold and senseless elf
Has scarce the heart to love himself;
Sure churlish Nature has supprest
The power of loving in his breast,
And cursed him with the unenvied fate
Whate'er is sweet and fair to hate.—Eustace.

The principal remnant of antiquity at Verona is its amphitheatre, entire only within, and that owing to modern restoration. Its external surface—with the exception of a very small portion built of large blocks of a sort of red marble, and in the Tuscan order—is demolished; what remains is but the inner wall of the porticos, which is faced with bossages, and bears no ornament or inscription that can lead to its author or its date. This structure, it has been well observed, renders us more sensible

of the vast scale of the Coliseum, than while within the walls of the Coliseum itself; such being the constitution of the human mind, that it not unfrequently becomes more sensible of the magnitude of an object, by subsequently contrasting it with smaller objects of the like kind, than by the actual contemplation of the thing itself*.

The Adige, the Athesis of the ancients, is crossed by four bridges; one of which still retains two Roman arches. There are also some remains of a fifth bridge, called the Ponte Emilio. The Ponte del Castel Vecchio—a narrow structure, forming a communication with the castle, and consisting of three arches, the centre arch being a hundred and fifty-seven feet in span—is now shut up as too unsafe for use.

The tombs of the Scaligers—six in number, each bearing the eagle and scaling ladder, the arms of the Scaliger princes—are represented by Forsyth as "models of the most elegant Gothic, light, open, spiry, full of statues caged in their fretted niches; yet slender as they seem, these tombs have stood entire for five hundred years in a public street, the frequent theatre of sedition,"

> Which made Verona's ancient citizens
> Cast by their grave beseeming ornaments,
> To wield old partisans in hands as old.

* In the *Corso* is an ancient double gateway, called Gallienus's Arch, each portion of the gateway being crowned with a pediment. Embedded in the wall of a house in the *Via de' Leoni* is another ancient work, consisting of one large arch, called the Arch of Flavius.

Woods, however, an architect by profession, seems to have held these monuments much more cheaply. According to his opinion, "the desire of the Italian artists to introduce something resembling the columns and entablatures of Grecian architecture, renders these monuments very inferior to our own Gothic crosses." The iron trellis which screens them from the street—and which, though as old as the monuments themselves, looks almost as fresh as when first put up—shews how very little that metal is affected by the air of Italy.

Some of the palaces of Verona, the work of Sanmicheli, have been pronounced, by competent judges, worthy to compare with the Vicentine palaces of Palladio*. The Porta Stupa, another work of the same architect, is admired for the air of gloomy strength and severity which he has contrived to impart to it. The great fault of the Pellegrini chapel, which passes here for his masterpiece, is, like that of so many other churches and chapels in Italy, excess of ornament.

Verona is said to contain the ashes of Pepin, whose tomb they shew; but, to an Englishman, none of its monuments recalls such interesting recollections as Juliet's:—

To us, Verona by that name is known.

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* According to Woods, Sanmicheli's "usual defect seems to be in not putting his stories well together; generally making the lower story too high in relation to the upper, or else putting under the second order a double pedestal. Taking each order singly, the proportions are beautiful."—Vol. i. 237.

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The tomb, however, which is pointed out as hers, is composed of a coarse red marble without ornament, and might be mistaken for a common water-trough.

Verona has given birth to many illustrious men; to Catullus, Vitruvius, Cornelius Nepos, and Pliny, among the ancients; to Paul Veronese, Scaliger, Maffei, and Pindemonte, among the moderns. With regard to Pindemonte—whom Sismondi compares to our Gray, and to whom, indeed, he may justly be compared both for the paucity of his works and the air of melancholy that pervades them—Rose observes that, "whatever may be our opinion of the application of fable to modern poetry in general, some indulgence perhaps is due to the poets of Italy; a country which was the second cradle of classical fiction, where its last vestiges are everywhere visible, and where the people yet swear by Bacchus and Diana*.

"Accordingly, Pindemonte deals largely in gods and goddesses, and does not even exclude the abstract train of allegory; but he has not abused these engines. His classical mythology is usually made the elegant vehicle of some moral truth, and his allegorical figures have an air of picturesque peculiarity about them, which gives them much of the life and vigour of reality. Of this, the first stanza of his Mattino affords an example:"—

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* "I was told," says Rose, "on asking what a morning chime signified in a sub-alpine city, that it was the *Diana*, a name which is generally given also to what is termed the *reveillée* in the military language of France and England."

Candido nume, che rosato ha il piede
E di Venere l' astro in fronte porta,
Il bel Mattino, sorridendo riede,
Del già propinquo Sol messaggio e scorta:
Fuggi dianzi a lui Notte, ch' or siede
Sovra l' occidentale, ultima porta,
Con man traendo a se, da tutto il cielo,
E in se stesso piegando il fosco velo.

With Venus' star fair blazoned on his forehead,
The Sun's gay courier, borne on rosy feet,
Young Morn returns; and far before him horrid
Night flies amain, and, in her last retreat,
The western portal, snatches from the skies
Her dusky veil, and folds it as it lies.—Rose.

Pindemonte, though he composed a satirical poem against the modern rage for travelling, had, during his youth, very freely indulged in the practice himself, and has left behind various odes inspired by the spots he had visited—by the Lake of Geneva, for example, and the glaciers and waterfalls of Switzerland. His *Campèstri* contain some passages addressed to Englishmen, of whose country he seems to have carried away with him a very favourable impression; witness the following pleasing description of one of its most distinguishing features—an English park:—

Oh chi mi leva in alto, e chi mi porta
Tra quegli ameni, dilettosi, immensi
Boscherecci teatri! Oh chi mi posa
Su que' verdi tappeti, entro que' foschi
Solitarj ricoveri, nel grembo
Di quelle valli, ed' a que' colli in vetta!

Non recise colà bellica scure
Le gioconde ombre ; i consueti asili
Là non cercaro invan gli ospiti augelli;
Nè Primavera s' ingannò, veggendo
Sparito dalla terra il noto bosco,
Che a rivestir venia delle sue frondi.
Sol nella man del giardinier solerte
Mandò lampi colà l' acuto ferro,
Che rase il prato ed agguagliollo; e i rami,
Che tra lo sguardo e le lontane scene
Si ardivano frappor, dotto corresse.
Prospetti vaghi, inaspettati incontri,
Bei sentieri, antri freschi, opachi seggi,
Lente acque e mute all' erba e ai fiori in mezzo,
Precipitanti d' alto acque tonanti,
Dirupi di sublime orror dipinti,
Campo e giardin, lusso erudito e agreste
Semplicità——Quinci ondeggiar la messe,
Pender le capre da un' aerea balza,
La valle mugolar, bélare il colle:
Quinci marmoreo sovra l' onde un ponte
Curvarsi, e un tempio biancheggiar tra il verde;
Straniere piante frondeggiar, che d' ombre
Spargono Americane il suol Britanno,
E su ramo, che avea per altri augelli
Natura ordito, augei cantar d' Europa.
Mentre superbo delle arboree corna
Va per la selva il cervo, e spesso il capo
Volge, e ti guarda; e in mezzo all' onda il cigno
Del piè fa remo, il collo inarca, e fende
L' argenteo lago. Così bel soggiorno
Sentono i bruti stessi, e delle selve
Scuoton con istupor la cima i venti!

MANTUA.—This town boasts an antiquity superior

even to that of Rome, and is represented by her native poet as existing in the time of Æneas:—

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
Fatidicæ Mantûs et Tusci filius amnis;
Qui muros, matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.—Æn. x. 198.

Ocnus was next, who led his native train
Of hardy warriors thro' the watry plain:
The son of Manto by the Tuscan stream,
From whence the Mantuan town derives the name.—Dryden.

The general stillness, and grass-grown streets of this depopulated town, added to the livid complexion of its inhabitants, afford ample proof of the unhealthiness of the Mantuan territory:

. . . . . Terra
Che Menzo fende, e d' alti stagni serra.—Ariosto.

Giulio Romano, who was employed by Frederick Gonzaga in the double capacity of architect and painter, is the hero of Mantua. To him it was indebted not only for its cathedral, but for so many of its other edifices, that he was looked upon as a sort of second founder of the place. The cathedral rests on six rows of insulated Corinthian columns—a noble design, the effect of which, however, is impaired by the narrowness of the aisles.

During his abode at Mantua, Giulio devoted himself more to architecture than to painting. In this latter pursuit, subsequent to the death of his master Raphael, he gave freer scope to the natural bent of his genius, which led him intuitively to "the mighty, the singular,

the austere, the emphatic." The Ducal Palace, called the Palazzo del T., on the outskirts of the town, exhibits ample proof of this, in the Fall of the Giants, painted on one of the ceilings of that edifice—a work in which he seems to have emulated the grandeur of M. Angelo himself.

At the distance of about three miles from Mantua is a village called Pietole, supposed by some to be Andes, where Virgil is said to have been born. About half a mile to the south of the village, and on the banks of the river, is a farm called Virgiliana, assigned by tradition to the poet himself.

Eustace, however, from some passages in the Eclogues, concludes that the poet's possessions lay at the foot, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the hills, not far from Valeggio, where the hills begin to subside, and gradually lose themselves in the plain:—

> . . . . . Quà se subducere colles
> Incipiunt, mollique jugum demittere clivo.—Ec. ix.

"On no other part of the banks of the Mincius," says he, "are to be discovered the 'bare rocks' that disfigured the farm of Tityrus, or the towering crag that shaded the pruner as he sang, or the 'vine-clad grotto' where the shepherd reclined, or the 'bushy cliff' where the 'browsing goats seemed as if suspended,' or 'the lofty mountains' which in the evening cast their 'lengthening shadows' over the plain." The 'spreading beech,' indeed, and 'aërial elm,' adorn the Mincio in all its windings; but these observations seem sufficient to point out the

impropriety of fixing Virgil's farm in the immediate vicinity of Mantua, while the poet himself represents it as at the distance of some miles, or at least of a walk deemed long by young and active shepherds:—

> Cantantes, licet usque, *minus via lædet*, eamus.—Ec. ix.

Of the tomb of Bianor nothing is known.

Above and below Mantua, the Mincio spreads into a lake, the upper one, called the Lago di Sopra, the latter, the Lago di Infra; the intervening portion is called the Lago Mezzo. Virgil alludes to this expanse in the third Georgic, where he promises to erect a temple to Augustus:—

> Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
> Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
> Mincius.—iii. 13.
>
> Of Parian stone a temple will I raise,
> Where the slow Mincius through the valley strays.—DRYDEN.

CREMONA derives some degree of interest from the well-known verse of Virgil—

> Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!—Ec. ix. 28.

and from the accurate observation of Tacitus—"hunc exitum Cremona habuit . . . . . bellis externis intacta, civilibus infelix;" an observation which may be considered as a summary of its history. Founded by one of the Celtic tribes which occupied the north of Italy, it was afterwards colonized and fortified by the Romans, about the commencement of the second Punic war, as a ram-

part against the approaching attack of Hannibal, whose forces it defied. Its subsequent attachment to the cause of liberty drew down upon it the vengeance of the Triumvirate, when it incurred that forfeiture and confiscation, the consequences of which spread to the Mantuan territory, and occasioned the flight and the fame of Virgil. Its fidelity to Vitellius exposed it to the rage of Vespasian's partisans, by whom it was reduced to ashes. But it rose again from its ruins, though only to experience the disasters of war, and to share the agonies of expiring empire, and became successively a prey to Goths, Lombards, French, and Germans.

Cremona, a dull but regularly built town, presents few objects of interest, with the exception of Pordenone's frescos in the cathedral, representing the Nativity and Crucifixion of our Saviour; and the lofty tower, called the Torrazzo. Travellers not unfrequently ascend to the top of this tower for the sake of the view, which commands the Po in all its windings through the Milanese, with the Alps on one hand, and the Apennines on the other. In each of the different parapets of the octagon gallery which crowns this tower, grooves are traced in the stone to guide the eye or rest the telescope. Hence, in looking for a particular town, all that is necessary is to bring the eye or the glass even with the given line.

The country between Cremona and Lodi comprises the richest part of the Milanese. The irrigation, too, is brought to the highest state of perfection. The grass is cut four times a year as fodder for the cows, from whose milk is made the well-known cheese called Par-

mesan. The cows, which are kept in the stall nearly all the year long, are fed during summer on two of these crops of grass or clover, which are cut green, and in winter on the other two, which are hayed.

The milk of at least fifty cows is required for the manufacture of Parmesan cheese. Hence, as one farm rarely affords pasture for such a number, it is usual for the farmers or metayers of a district to club together. The milk of fifty, sixty, or even of a hundred cows, is brought twice to the farm, where the dairy is fixed: the person on whom devolves the task of making the cheese keeps an account of the milk received, and the cheese is afterwards apportioned accordingly. In this fertile plain, a farm of sixty English acres is considered as a large one. These farms are subdivided into fields of two or three acres, for the convenience of irrigation; a practice which, in the course of a few years, impairs the quality of the grass to such a degree, that it becomes necessary to discontinue it. In this case, the sluices of the Gora are shut; the ground is ploughed in autumn, and, in the following spring, sown with hemp, which shoots up to a great height: when this is pulled, the ground is sown with leguminous plants. In the next spring it is sown with oats, which grow to the height of six or seven feet. The richness of the soil being thus sufficiently subdued, it is next cropped with wheat. Maize is then sown in the following spring; a second crop of wheat succeeds, and finishes the course of cropping.

The ground is then left to itself, and is immediately covered with herbage. During winter it is manured, and

the new meadow is then subjected again to the process of irrigation, which is usually continued for fifteen years. Thus, the rotation in the Milanese extends to twenty years; five years for the growth of hemp, pulse, and grain; and fifteen for the growth of grass. Rice is also grown in some parts of the Milanese; but as it partakes of the nature of an aquatic plant—for the rice-grounds are kept under water during nearly the whole period of its growth—its cultivation has been placed under considerable restriction by the government, owing to the malaria which it engenders.

MILAN.

. . . . Solido de marmore templum.—VIRG.

MILAN, like most of the cities between the Alps and Apennines, is of Gallic origin, having been founded by the Insubri at an early period of Roman history. In the year of Rome 531, it had acquired sufficient strength to keep a Roman army in check, and required the united efforts of two consuls to reduce it. Under the successors of Constantine, and particularly during the reigns of the Valentinians, Mediolanum, though not the nominal, was often the real seat of empire. With the fall of the empire its disasters began. Seated at the foot of the Alps, its wealth and splendour provoked the attacks of every invading barbarian. It was successively plundered and burnt by Attila, and the Goths under Vitiges. It was afterwards sacked by the Longobardi, under their king Alboin. Under Charlemagne it again revived; but the emperor Barbarossa, either irritated by the insolence of its inhabitants or instigated by the rivalry of the neighbouring cities, razed it to the ground, and, according to some historians, passed the ploughshare over its ruins. But Milan survived even this visitation, and rose almost immediately, and with the assistance of Barbarossa himself, from its ashes.

The bishops of Milan, like the Roman pontiffs, became at length temporal sovereigns. One of these,

named Visconti, transmitted his temporal authority to his nephew, whose descendants reigned for several generations with the title of Dukes of Milan.

On the extinction of the Visconti, who had formed matrimonial connexions with the royal dynasty of France, the French laid claim to the Milanese, and made repeated attempts to take possession of it. These attempts ended at length in the battle of Pavia, which broke the French power in Italy, and secured the possession of Milan to Spain, and eventually to Austria, which power retained it, with few interruptions, till the French revolutionary war.

The Cathedral.—No structure perhaps ever gave rise to so many discordant remarks as the cathedral of Milan, whether those remarks refer to the building as a whole, or to its constitutive parts—the only point in which tourists are agreed being that of condemning the introduction of quadrangular doors and windows in the front. With respect to this edifice, considered as a whole, Mathews says, "a new cathedral, especially if it be built of white marble, as is the case at Milan, is an ugly, staring thing." Forsyth tells us that it "has been wonderfully contrived to bury millions of money in ornaments which are never to be seen. Whole quarries of marble have been manufactured here into statues, relievos, niches, and notches, and high sculpture* has been squandered on

* The myriads of statues stuck up against the front and sides and over the top of this whimsical edifice give it a sort of awkward mag-

objects which vanish individually in the mass. Were some hundreds of those statues removed, the rest would regain their due importance, and the fabric itself become more intelligible." To reverse the picture:—"Of all the buildings, old or new, in Milan," observes the author of Sketches in Italy, "the most striking is, unquestionably, the cathedral, which is entirely built of white marble. Its vast size, as well as rich architecture, entitles it to be ranked among the principal edifices of Europe . . . . Though rich in all the ornaments of Gothic architecture, though covered with statues, niches, pinnacles, sculpture, and decorations of every description, its whole appearance is not more splendid than majestic; an effect which it owes perhaps to the simple elegance of the material of which it is formed . . . Taking it altogether, it is to me, unquestionably, the finest church of Italy after St. Peter's, and the only one capable of rivalling that splendid structure." In the same strain of panegyric, Lady Morgan observes:—"As we first saw it, in the radiance of the mid-day sun—its masses of white and polished marble wrought into such elegant filigree as is traced on Indian

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nificence, very striking at first sight; but these statues are neither good enough nor bad enough. A Gothic figure of common stone, noseless and blind, its hands and feet knocked off, worm-eaten and wasted in substance all over, excites at least your imagination, carrying it at once to that extraordinary period of European history which forms a sort of barbarous interlude between the great Roman drama and the farce of modern times; while an indifferent statue of glossy white marble seems a mockery of Grecian art, and, worse than barbarous, is vulgar and mean.—*Simond's Tour, &c.*

ivory by Hindoo fingers—its slim and delicate pinnacles tipped with sculptured saints—it looked, all gigantic as it is, like some fairy fabric of virgin silver*; and left the eye dazzled, and the imagination fascinated." Woods, a professed architect, thus expresses himself upon the same subject:—" Separating the old work from its injudicious additions, and considering it only as a portion of an unfinished building, the exterior is very rich and very beautiful, with its parts well composed and well combined." So much for its general effect. On descending to particulars, we shall find the different descriptions of different travellers distinguished by the same discrepancies. Thus, Simond tells us that, " in the interior of the cathedral, its marble pillars neither form Gothic clusters, nor single columns in the Grecian style, but exhibit solid masses neither square nor round, alike destitute of lightness, of elegance, and of majesty;" while, on the contrary, Eustace is warm in his panegyrics on these very pillars, or, as he terms them, *clusters* of pillars; observing, too, that their lightness is such as to lay open almost the whole of the building at a single glance. Again, as regards the interior, which still remains unfinished, the author of Sketches in Italy would have us believe that " this is the less to be regretted, as its design is not equal to that of the exterior;" and yet, Forsyth, who speaks slightingly

* The upper part of the building, fresh from the chisel, is of a dazzling white; while the lower part is quite dark, altogether exhibiting a contrast like that of the highly dressed and well-powdered *beau* with dirty shoes and stockings.—*Simond's Tour, &c.*

of the latter, highly extols the effect of the former. He suggests, it is true, some important improvements*; still, however, even in its present state, he admits that, "in the pile itself, there resides a solemnity which collects the soul and inspires devotion. How awful its distant obscurities! how expanding the vacuum of its high embowed roof! how reverend the shadowings of its painted light! how affecting the family groups kneeling at wide intervals in the vacant nave—what a picture this for Peter Neefs and his associates!" To an Englishman, at any rate, accustomed from infancy—

> To walk the studious cloister pale,
> And love the high embowed roof,
> With antique pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light—

such a scene cannot fail to recall the most interesting recollections. An Italian's predilections may, perhaps, take a different direction. To him, perhaps, the Gothic may appear but a combination of disproportions. Its

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* "The furniture of the choir (says he) conceals that very part of the church which includes most picture and movement; the circling end of the aisles and the chapels behind. Pull down the stalls, galleries, and barricades; pull down the canopies, the lamps, and red hats; sweep away the balustrade of St. Charles's tomb, and let the high altar alone stand in the sacred cross. Insulate this altar between four Gothic pillars springing aloft into four Gothic arches, and crowned by a pyramid of Gothic fretwork. Then would the architecture and the decoration be *one;* then would the whole unfold an incalculable variety of forms."

" dim religious light" may to him seem only the gloom of northern skies—its clustered columns, but ill-contrived bundles of stone—the pointed arch, the consequence of not knowing how to form a round one—the ribs and tracery of the vault, clumsy contrivances to support it—the fret-work which decorates the windows, happy inventions to intercept the light;—" the whole, in short, an ill-assorted mass of incongruities and darkness, adapted only to the gloom and horror of Druidical sacrifices and Runic incantations*:"—

. . . . . Barbara ritu
Sacra Deûm, structæ diris feralibus aræ.—LUCAN. iii. 404.

Where barbarous rites profaned the dark abodes,
And altars rose to furies, not to gods.—EUSTACE.

Under the dome is the subterranean chapel, in which the body of the patron saint, Charles Borromeo, is deposited. " He was," says Mathews, " one of the best and most amiable men of his time, and was committed quietly to the peace of the grave, amidst the respect and regret of his contemporaries. Some twenty years, however, after his death, his canonization took place; upon which his body was removed from its former tenement, and deposited in state, in this splendid tomb; where he is now exhibited as a spectacle to every curious stranger, at so much a head. This little chapel is all gold and silver, and the saint himself, arrayed in splendid robes, is laid in a case of transparent crystal. The face is visi-

* Eustace.

ble, 'grinning horribly a ghastly smile,' as if he felt the bitter sarcasm conveyed by the contrast of his present situation with the motto of his life—'Humilitas.'"

In the choir is Agrati's celebrated statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew. On a subject so unpleasing the greatest excellence would be exhibited in vain. The following inscription is placed under it, so quaintly translated by Addison:—

> Non me Praxiteles, sed Marcus finxit Agrati.
>
> Lest at the sculptor doubtfully you guess,
> 'Tis Mark Agrati, not Praxiteles.

Near the church of *San Lorenzo*—a mixed and intricate octagon, with arches over arches—stands a noble colonnade, the only remnant of antiquity at Milan, consisting of sixteen Corinthian columns of white marble, which, till within these few years, were walled up among the contiguous buildings. By some they are referred to the age of Hadrian, by others they are thought to be the remains of Maximian's Baths.

Sant' Ambrogio—a rude pile—is renowned in the annals of Lombardy as the scene of the coronation of the Lombard kings, some of whose monuments still remain here. Its brazen serpent passes with the Milanese for the very serpent lifted up by Moses in the Wilderness. One of the greatest curiosities of this church is a marble pulpit with rudely executed sculpture representing the Last Supper. The apostles carved round it "are all

matter-of-fact men, each intent on his own dish, and up to the knuckles in his own mess!"

The refectory of the suppressed convent of *S. Maria delle Grazie* contains Da Vinci's celebrated painting on the same subject—a painting, which, though incorporated with the wall, has passed through a chapter of accidents. Da Vinci, it seems, ever fond of experiment, made use of oils unfit for his purpose, and in less than fifty years half the picture had peeled off from the wall. The picture is said to have been subsequently white-washed by the monks themselves, to have been blistered by the corrosive fumes of the cavalry horses stabled in the refectory, to have been wantonly shot at by the French*, and to have sustained yet greater injury from injudicious attempts at restoration. "When I came into the Refettorio," says Barry, describing the work as it appeared in his time, "I found a scaffold erected, on ascending which I saw one half of the picture covered by a great cloth: on examining the other part that was uncovered, I found the skin of colour which composed the

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* "Wishing," says Simond, "to ascertain whether Eustace's accusation against the French, of having used this *chef d'œuvre* as a target to fire at, and of having aimed at the head of our Saviour in preference, was true, I examined the picture closely, and certainly discovered a number of round holes, as if made by balls, plugged up with something like putty, and likewise dents in the walls, apparently the effect of brick-bats thrown against it, fragments of which still remained in some of the holes."

picture to be all cracked into little squares of about the eighteenth of an inch over, which were for the most part in their edges loosened from the wall and curling up: however, nothing was materially lost. I saw that the picture had been formerly repaired in some few places; yet, as this was not much, and as the other parts were untouched, there was nothing to complain of. The wonderful truth and variety of the expressions, so well described by Vasari and Rubens, and the admirable finesse of finish and relievo taken notice of by Armenini, were still remaining. Whilst I was examining this part of the picture, two gentlemen came upon the scaffold, and drew aside the cloth which covered the other half, which, to my great horror and astonishment, was repainted. One of those men was at great pains to shew the vast improvements the picture was receiving by this repainting; but the painting and the discourse so kindled my indignation, that I was no longer master of myself. 'What, sir,' said I, 'is it possible you do not perceive how this painter—if I can call him painter—has destroyed the picture in every part on which he has laid his stupid hands? Do not you see that this head is distorted and out of drawing, that there is no longer significance or expression in it, that all his colouring is crude and wants accord? Do, sir, open your eyes, and compare it with the other half of the picture, which he has not as yet buried under his cursed colours.' He answered me, that this was only a dead colour, and the painter was to go over it a second time. 'O, confusion!' said I, 'so much the worse. If he has thus lost his way whilst he was im-

mediately going over the lines and colours of Leonardo's work, what will become of him when he has no longer any guide, and is left blind and abandoned to his own ignorance?' And, turning myself to the friars of the convent, who stood by, 'Fathers,' said I, 'this picture and the painter of it have suffered much by the ignorance of your order. It was white-washed over some years ago; it has been again hurt in washing off the white; and now you have got a beast to paint another picture upon it, who knows no more of the matter than you do yourselves. There was no occasion for thus covering it over with new colours: it might easily be secured in those parts that are loosening from the wall, and it would stand probably as long as your order will.'" It would be difficult to reconcile this account with various others, which represent the work as half defaced long before Barry's time*.

The *Brera Library*, one of the largest in Italy, is rich in curious books; though books by no means constitute its whole wealth. The picture gallery contains a valuable collection of works by the most distinguished masters; among which may be noticed Guercino's celebrated painting of Abraham dismissing Hagar, and the still more celebrated work of Guido, representing the two apostles, Peter and Paul.

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* See Appendix, p. 387. Morghen's inimitable engraving of this work was chiefly taken from copies, "two of which were painted in Da Vinci's time, on more fortunate walls."

The *Ambrosian Library*, though inferior to the Brera, contains some curious manuscripts—an incomplete Josephus, of the third century, written on papyrus—a Virgil in Petrarch's hand-writing—some unpublished fragments of Cicero's orations, discovered on skins of parchment that had afterwards been written over with legends of the saints—the Love Letters of Cardinal Bembo and the Duchess of Ferrara—and a large volume of philosophical remarks by Leonardo Da Vinci, containing various diagrams, some of them on the subject of eclipses.

The *Piazza Castello*, or Campo Marzo, as it is sometimes called, is a large open space appropriated to military exercises, at one extremity of which is the amphitheatre built by Buonaparte. The form, as usual, is elliptical; and the seats are covered with turf. Horse and chariot-races, as well as sham sea-fights, were here given in imitation of the games of antiquity. It was once used as a naumachia, in the presence of Buonaparte, to celebrate the birth of his son. With the exception of the *Pulvinare*, or imperial portico, decorated with columns of red granite, the amphitheatre now presents but a mean and dilapidated appearance.

Not far from the amphitheatre is the triumphal arch erected by Buonaparte at the commencement of the Simplon road. The various relievos, intended to represent the Austrians laying down their arms after the battle of Marengo, Mack's surrender of Ulm, and Buonaparte's triumphal entry into Milan, are now to be converted to a very different use—the representation of the

vanquished French with their emperor at their head. This conversion of the relievos to a purpose the very opposite of what was originally intended, was rendered the more easy by the adoption, in the first instance, of the military costume of ancient Greece and Rome.

Milan has two other handsome gates, the Porta Nuova, and the Porta Ticino, both crossing the outer canal which encompasses the city.

The evening promenade of Milan is the most splendid in Italy. The principal scenes of it are the ramparts to the north of the town, the Corso, and the esplanade between the town and the forum. The Casino, an extensive suite of rooms built and supported by subscription, and handsomely fitted up for cards, dancing, &c., is the favourite resort after the promenade.

Monza is about ten miles north of Milan. In the venerable cathedral of this place, more than thirty kings were invested with the iron crown of Charlemagne; Buonaparte being the last. This ancient crown, of which a model only is now shewn, consisted of a broad band of fine gold, covering a ring of iron, from which circumstance it derived its name; the ring being formed, as the story goes, out of one of the nails used at the crucifixion. The gold band was surmounted by a circle of radiating points studded with jewels—a form combining simplicity and beauty.

PARINI—CECISBEISM.

Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primùm inquinavêre, et genus, et domos:
Hoc fonte derivàta clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.—Hor.

It was a saying of Alfieri's, that "men were of more vigorous growth in Italy than in any other country, a fact sufficiently attested by their very crimes." Whatever may be the force of this remark as applied to Italy in general, Rose maintains that it can by no means be extended to the Milanese territory, where, according to his account, man is not only very often cut short of his bodily proportions, but is also inferior to the rest of the Italians in the qualifications of the mind; being usually heavy and slow of understanding. At the same time, while he contends for the general truth of this observation, he readily admits that Parini forms a brilliant exception to it*.

Parini has distinguished himself both as a lyric and satiric poet; but his most popular work is one of the latter stamp, intitled the "Giorno." The object of this poem,—which is divided into four cantos, styled

* La pianta uomo nasce più robusta in Italia che in qualunque altra terra . . . . . gli stessi atroci delitti che vi si commettono ne sono una prova.

Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, is to give a satirical description of the way in which men of fashion in Italy pass their time*. The poet, however, instead of adhering very rigidly to a subject apparently so unpromising, contrives to make it the vehicle of a succession of pleasing episodes and digressions.

" In the ' Giorno,' the author assumes the character of preceptor to a nobleman, and teaches him how to devote his morning to the toilette, his noon to the serious occupations of the table, his afternoon to the public walks, and his nights to the *conversazioni*. The most frivolous actions, the most contemptible vices, the most ridiculous follies, and sometimes the most atrocious crimes, are detailed with minuteness, and always with the pretext of recommendation.

" The poet has shewn no little address in contrasting the effeminacy of the actual race of nobles with the industry and the courage of their ancestors, who, in the

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* Il a imité la Boucle de cheveux enlevée, de Pope, dans son poëme sur la journée de l'homme du monde. Avec de l'esprit, de l'élégance, de la finesse, il a feint de donner des leçons sur l'emploi de la matinée, du jour, de la soirée, à un jeune gentilhomme qui ne connoît, qui ne désire que la mollesse et les plaisirs. Il a peint la haute société avec une satire délicate; et en ornant de toutes les grâces de son pinceau cette vie efféminée, il a su faire rougir ceux qui s'y livraient, de leur inutilité ou de leurs fausses vertus. While Sismondi thus compares the " Giorno " to the " Rape of the Lock," the Italians compare it to the Georgics, for the number of its episodes, and the ease with which they are introduced. Others, again, discover in it a resemblance to the " Task," not only in the diction, but in the versification, which keeps a middle path between the familiar and the dignified.

middle ages, restored the civilization of the South, and, with unshaken constancy, defended the liberties of the Italian republics. This contrast naturally transported Parini to the days of romance; and the wild life of the military patricians, the old castles, and the glittering arms of the half-barbarous ages, were a happy relief for the silken barons, the palaces, and the embroidered suits of his contemporaries, whom it was necessary to amuse in order to instruct.

"With this mixture of romance, Parini also recurred to the characters and allegories of the old mythology, the favourite resource of the Italians, who still think it the only fabulous system whose images combine the truth of real nature with the charms of ideal grace. But even in this department of his art, which an Englishman would abandon as hopeless, he contrives to give an air of reality to his classical fables, by applying them to the practices and principles of his own times. Thus it is that his Cupid and Hymen are introduced. They are engaged in a war to all appearance interminable, but they agree to treat, and peace is made on condition that Cupid shall reign all day, and Hymen all night. An English reader would not be much struck with this invention; but whoever meets a handsome Italian matron, decently pacing between her husband and her Cavaliere Servente, will instantly call to mind the Love and Hymen of Parini, and the stately march of the lines in which he thus describes the origin of *Serventismo**:"—

* Hobhouse's Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold.

Tempo già fu, che il pargoletto Amore
Dato era in guardia al suo fratello Imene;
Poichè la Madre lor temea, che il cieco
Incauto Nume perigliando gisse
Misero e solo per oblique vie,
E che, bersaglio agl' indiscreti colpi
Di senza guida e senza freno arciero,
Troppo immaturo al fin corresse il seme
Uman, ch' è nato a dominar la terra.
Perciò la prole mal secura all' altra
In cura dato avea, sì lor dicendo:
" Ite o figli del par; tu più possente
Il dardo scocca, e tu più cauto il guida
A certa meta." Così ognor compagna
Iva la dolce coppia, e in un sol regno
E d' un nodo comun l' alme stringea.
Allora fu che il Sol mai sempre uniti
Vedea un pastore ed una pastorella
Starsi al prato, à la selva, al colle, al fonte;
E la Suora di lui vedeali poi
Uniti ancor nel talamo beato,
Ch' ambo gli amici numi a piene mani
Gareggiando spargean di gigli e rose.
Ma che non puote anche in divino petto,
Se mai s' accende, ambizion di regno?
Crebber' l' ali ad Amore à poco à poco,
E la forza con esse; ed è la forza
Unica e sola del regnar maestra.
Perciò a poc' aere prima, indi più ardito
A vie maggior fidossi, e fiero alfine,
Entrò nel alto, e il grande arco crollando
E il capo, risonar fece a quel moto
Il duro acciar che la feretra a tergo
Gli empie, e grido: " Solo regnar' vogl' io,"
Disse, e volto alla madre; " Amore, adunque,
Il più possente infra gli Dei, il primo

Di Citereà figliuol, ricever leggi,
E dal minor german ricever leggi,
Vile alunno, anzi servo? Or adunque Amore
Non oserà fuorch' una unica volta
Ferire un' alma come questo schifo
Da me vorrebbe? E non potrò giammai
Dappoi ch' io strinsi un laccio, anco slegarlo
A mio talento, e qualor parmi un altro
Stringerne ancora? E lascerò pur ch' egli
Di suoi unguenti impeci a me i miei dardi
Perchè men velenosi e men crudeli
Scendano ai petti? Or via, perché non togli
A me da le mie man quest' arco, e queste
Armi da le mie spalle, e ignudo lasci,
Quasi rifiuto degli dei, Cupido?
Oh il bel viver che fia qualor tu solo
Regni in mio loco! Oh il bel vederti, lasso!
Studiarti a torre da le languide alme
La stanchezza e' l fastidio, e spander gelo
Di foco in vece! Or, Genitrice, intendi,
Vaglio et vo' regnar solo. A tuo piacere
Tra noi parti l' impero: ond' io con teco
Abbia omai pace, e in compagnia d' Imene
Me non trovin mai più le umane genti."
Qui tacque Amore, e minaccioso in atto,
Parve all' Idalia Dea chieder risposta.
Ella tenta placarlo, e pianti e preghi
Sparge, ma in vano; onde a' due figli volta,
Con questo dir pose al contender fine.
" Poichè nulla tra voi pace esser puote,
Si dividano i regni. E perchè l' uno
Sia dall' altro germano ognor disgiunto,
Sieno tra voi diversi e' l tempo e' l opra.
Tu che di strali altero a fren non cedi
L' alme ferisci, e tutto il giorno impera:
E tu che di fior placidi hai corona,

Le salme accoppia, e coll' ardente facè
Regna la notte." Ora di qui, Signore,
Venne il rite gentil, che a freddi sposi
Le tenebre concede e de le spose
Le caste membra: E a voi, beata gente
Del più nobil mondo, il cor di queste
E il dominio del dì largo destina.

Time was, when little Love, scarce fledged and creeping,
Was put into his brother Hymen's keeping;
For much the mother feared the graceless god
Might stray, or come to mischief, if he trod
The world alone, and man's imperial race,
In his first fury, perish from their place.
So putting him beneath his brother's care,
She, with this lesson, launched the little pair:
" Go, peers in power!—You, strongest, ply the dart,
To guide it, Hymen, be thy sager part."
She ended, and the brothers ranged their round,
And in close couples souls and bodies bound.
'Twas then that never Sun beheld a swain
And shepherdess together on the plain,
By field or fountain, or by bosky bourne,
But that his sister, in her nightly turn,
Saw them together laid in lowly shed,
While the young gods rained roses on their bed..
But what will not Ambition? By degrees
Love's pinions pushed, and with the growth of these
Fast grew the stripling's strength, and stories shew,
Force is the single source of power below.
First in shoal air he played, and narrow rings:
At last, more bold, confiding in his wings,
Flung his steel case of sounding shafts behind,
Brandished his bow, and borne upon the wind,
Bounced into baby rage, and cried with scorn —
" First of the gods, and Venus' elder born,

Shall I then, like a pupil, wait command,
— Say, slave — and at a younger brother's hand?
Not twice, with his good will, one bosom strike?
Nor loose the knot once fastened, as I like?
Nor, at my riper pleasure, tie another?
And shall this squeamish, sober-minded brother
Sheathe with his balsams my wide-wasting dart,
That it may rankle less within the heart?
No; bid me rather here at once deliver
Mine arms; despoil me of my bow and quiver;
And leave me stript and helpless to all eyes,
The scorn of men, and outcast of the skies.
What a rare world 'twill be when thou shalt reign
In place of Cupid! I behold thee strain
To light in languid souls some faint desire,
And see thee scatter frost instead of fire.
But mark me, mother, I *can* reign alone,
And *will;* I'll bear no brother near the throne.
Then, at thy pleasure, portion our domain;
Give each his lot; and so shall I remain
At peace with thee, while we our interests sever,
And Love and Hymen make divorce for ever."
He ended, and with threatening act and eye,
Appeared to wait the goddess's reply;
She sobs and sighs, with fond entreaties mixt,
But read his part resolved, his purpose fixt.
Then, hopeless to remove such settled hate,
With this short sentence stopt all new debate:
"Since you can't rule like brothers in the realm,
In fair rotation take and quit the helm.
Diverse your task and times. Wild archer, smite
The soul with *your* keen shafts, and rule in light.
You of the kindled torch and saffron flower,
Bind bodies, and be thine the midnight hour!"

> And hence, egregious Sir, the gentle rite
> Which to cold husbands yields the shades of night,
> And spousal corpse; while you, more happy, sway
> The heart, and hold dominion of the day.—Rose.

The system alluded to in these lines—a system which, to say the least of it, sanctions the open display of apparent infidelity to the marriage vow—is said to have originated as far back as the first Crusade. In those turbulent times, the barons who enlisted under the banners of the Cross, found it necessary to provide protectors for their wives and families during their absence; such protectors being styled Cavalieri Serventi. The custom once established, a sufficient pretext was found for its continuance—even after the termination of the contest in the Holy Land—in the frequent wars that sprang up between the various petty states into which Italy was divided; and the practice has been transmitted, without intermission, to the present day. No plea, it is true, can now be advanced in its defence; yet, considering the state of society in Italy, one can hardly feel much surprised at its existence. In that country, girls are for the most part secluded from society, and subjected to the severest restraint; no wonder, therefore, that they should look upon marriage as an escape from slavery—the only chance of extricating themselves from an affected reserve, which, however contrary to their natural bent, they are still obliged to put on. "Dans les mœurs de l'Italie," observes Sismondi, "l'amour durable, l'amour passionné, celui qui suppose un rapport de cœur, d'esprit, de sentiment, comme un attrait de figure; celui qui est fondé sur

un choix mutuel, ne peut guère avoir le mariage pour but. Les demoiselles, elevées loin de la société, obligées à une extrême réserve, et punies tout aussi sévèrement par l'opinion, pour avoir vu le monde, que pour avoir suivi une intrigue coupable, tantôt s'abandonnent à leurs sentimens les moins réfléchis avec une étourderie, avec une déraison qui nous paraissent tout-à-fait choquantes; tantôt ne soupirent point d'après un choix, mais d'une manière générale, pour le mariage . . . . Il est entendu, en Italie, qu'une fille sage, une fille prudente, doit accepter l'époux que ses parens lui présentent, fût-il également désagréable de caractère, d'esprit et de figure." Marriage being thus confessedly a mere arrangement of convenience, where the parties, perhaps, meet for the first time at the celebration of the ceremony itself, we may readily imagine that the hope of happiness, founded upon that mutual attachment which ought always to be the basis of such an union—the "spes animi credula mutui"—is not a hope very fondly cherished by an Italian husband; and that "the cavaliere robs him of nothing that he is not quite content to spare."

The same observation applies equally to the female. Aware how hopeless it is to think of marrying for love, she takes care to indemnify herself for the sacrifice of her feelings by looking out for a lover immediately after marriage*. Supposing, indeed, that it were otherwise;

* La contrainte où vivent les demoiselles, et la liberté illimitée dont jouissent les femmes, ont placé presque toujours dans les habitudes du pays l'amour après le mariage.—*Sismondi, Hist. Lit.*

supposing that the wife had the good fortune to be united to the object of her choice, still the probable infidelity of the latter would be enough to provoke retaliation. The "sprætæ injuria formæ" is not an offence to be overlooked by an Italian female, whose ardent temperament, equally susceptible of love or hatred, is depicted in her very looks; and of whom it has been happily said,

> Methinks the Furies with their snakes,
> Or Venus with her zone might gird her;
> Of fiend and goddess she partakes,
> And looks at once both Love and Murder.—LETT. TO JULIA.

The system of cecisbeism, monstrous and absurd as it is, and productive of the worst consequences in all the relations of domestic life, though founded, as Mathews observes, "in the violation of all laws and feelings, has its own peculiar regulations, which it would be an unpardonable breach of etiquette to transgress. Thus, the lady must not have children by her paramour; at least, the notoriety of such a fact would be attended with loss of reputation. What can be said of a state of society that can tolerate such things, but—'reform it altogether'*."

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* What can be more absurd than to see three or four men dancing attendance upon the same woman. "We have heard of some," says Simond, "who had three in constant attendance—*il bello, il brutto, il buono.* The first makes love, the second goes on errands, the third pays; but in general one individual unites the various offices." Trois ou quatre hommes, sous des titres differens, suivent la même femme, qui les mène avec elle, sans se donner quelquefois même la peine de

dire leur nom au maître de la maison qui les reçoit: l'un est le préféré, l'autre celui qui aspire à l'être; un troisième s'appelle le souffrant (*il patito*); celui-là est tout-à-fait dédaigné, mais on lui permet cependant de faire le service d'adorateur; et tous ces rivaux vivent paisiblement ensemble.—*Corinne*, tom. i. 195.

THE LOMBARD LAKES—PASSAGE OF THE SIMPLON.

Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.—Pope.

The Lake of Como—the southern extremities of which are distant about five-and-twenty miles from Milan—may be considered as divided into three separate arms, each of which is also sometimes distinguished by a separate name. The northern arm, where the Adda falls into the lake, is called the Lake of Chiavenna, and extends as far as the Point of Bellaggio, where it branches off into the two remaining arms—that towards the west, which terminates in the river Adda, being called the Lake of Lecco—the other, towards the east, the Lake of Como, from the town of the same name at its extremity. This latter division, though very beautiful—its lofty banks studded with villas and villages, and combining the charms of the bold and the cultivated—is thought to yield to that of Lecco in the picturesque, while it certainly must be admitted to want the grander features of the northern branch. The spot from which the lake is seen to most advantage is Bellaggio, nearly opposite a romantic little waterfall, called, from its milky appearance, the Fiume di Latte, which precipitates itself into the lake from a height of nearly a thousand feet. Here you command this beautiful lake in all its three branches,

Blue as a sapphire stone, and richly set
With chateaux, villages, and village spires,
Orchards and vineyards, Alps and alpine snows!

Directly in front is the Monte Legnone, which, though below the line of perpetual snow, and therefore not to be ranked, as Eustace ranks it, among the higher Alps, is yet, from its isolated character, one of the most commanding among them.

The lake of Como, which is upwards of fifty miles in length, with a width varying from three to six miles, though not the largest of the Lombard lakes, sufficiently warrants the epithet "maximus" applied to it by Virgil*.

The LAKE OF LUGANO—situated about midway between the Lake of Como and the Lago Maggiore—is about five-and-twenty miles in length, with an average width of a mile and a half. This lake, the scenery of which has been charged with sameness, owing to "its narrow, winding course, and high mountainous borders†," is, in the opinion of Brockedon, "the most beautiful of the northern lakes of Italy." The mountains, it is true, are more precipitous than those in the vicinity of the other lakes; rising, for the most part, abruptly from the water's edge: there are, however, several little bays and

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* . . . . . Te, Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino.—*Georg.* ii. 159. The Benacus (Lago di Garda) is not only larger than the Lake of Como, but larger even than that which is now called the Lago Maggiore.

† See Sketches of Italy, Vol. iv.

indentations where they recede, and leave well cultivated valleys studded with the vine and the olive.

The little town of Lugano—a Swiss town—is seated at the head of the lake. It is from this town, and those bordering on the Lake of Como, that most of those enterprising pedlars proceed, who traverse the different states of Europe with pictures and barometers for sale. Fond, however, as these people seem to be of wandering, they generally return with their gains to pass the remainder of their days at home, "and lay their bones in their own country—a desire that seems to be natural to all mankind—'dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos'*."

The LAGO MAGGIORE, which lies in the direct road from Milan to the Simplon, together with the beauties which it derives from the boldness of its immediate shores and the grandeur of the distant Alps, combines the charms of the Borromean Isles—the Isola Bella, Isola Madre, and Isola de' Pescatori—the two first, the creation, if not of great taste, at least of great labour. Formerly barren rocks, they have been cut into regular terraces, especially Isola Bella, decorated with villas, grottoes, and statues, and planted with orange and citron trees, and a variety of odoriferous shrubs. Though it is no longer the fashion to admire gardens thus cut into for-

* Quotiescunque (says Livy, personating the banished Camillus,) patria in mentem veniret, hæc omnia occurrebant; colles campique et Tiberis et assueta oculis regio, et hoc cælum sub quo natus educatusque essem.—Lib. v. 32.

mal terraces, and decked out with grottoes and statues, and though several tourists have paraded their taste in loud complaints of the want of nature and simplicity exhibited in the mode of laying out these islands, yet others have been found to the full as lavish of their praises—affirming that Isola Bella might serve as the model for a description of the island of Calypso, that its villa might be compared with the palace of Armida, and its gardens with those of the Hesperides. Indeed, whatever may be said of their formality, the general effect of these islands, rising, as it were, by enchantment out of the waters of the lake, must be admitted to be very striking. There may, as Dupaty said with regard to a very different subject, be many defects in the details, but we must stop to reason about them before we can make the discovery*.

The PASSAGE OF THE SIMPLON may be said to commence at Domo d'Ossola, at a short distance from which town the ascent begins. The road, quitting the Val d'Ossola, winds up a steep hill, from whence it enters, by a slight descent, into the Val Vedro, after crossing the torrent of the Vedro, which is seen foaming along at a great depth below. Here the traveller finds himself introduced at once into the very heart of the Alpine recesses; and soon afterwards traverses the first gallery, pierced through the solid rock. Next comes the gorge of Isella—a de-

* Mais que de defauts, dit on, dans cette edifice! (St. Peter's at Rome). Non pas du moins pour le sentiment et le regard: il faut que le compas les y cherche, et que le raisonnement les y trouve.

solate ravine, bounded by stupendous overhanging rocks —at the head of which is the post-house and dogana of Italy. Then comes San Marco, the last Italian hamlet — then the little chapel which marks the line of separation between Italy and the canton of the Valais—then the village of Gondo, the first Swiss village—and then, after a long ascent in the midst of stupendous pine-clad heights, the great gallery of the same name, cut out of the solid granite, and near two hundred yards in length. The entrance to this gallery, on the side of Italy, whether we consider the cascade on the right hand, the torrent which roars along at the bottom of the deep ravine on the left, the bridge which spans the yawning chasm in front, the vast barrier of rock beyond it, which seems to forbid all further progress, or the snowy peaks in the distance, forms one of the grandest and most interesting features of this mountain pass; inspiring, in the highest degree, "that sensation of awe, which it is the effect of such scenery to produce, by impressing the mind with a vague but overwhelming idea of the power of the mighty Master of Nature."

After passing a third gallery, the road opens upon a still more contracted part of the valley, which it follows for some distance, crossing and re-crossing it by numerous bridges, according to the facilities afforded by its opposite sides. The road over the Simplon, indeed, as regards the Italian side, may be shortly described as a pass lying in a deep ravine, overhung by numberless projections and precipices, and sometimes traversing galleries cut in the solid rock, with a torrent foaming and

thundering at the bottom of the chasm the greater part of the way. On approaching the summit of the pass, the road no longer skirts the torrent, but enters upon a wild and dreary plain, surrounded by snowy peaks, in the centre of which stands the village of Simpeln. The ascent, however, still continues for upwards of a league and a half; the village of Simpeln being something less than 5000, and the highest point of the Pass something more than 6500 feet above the level of the sea. Close to the left of this latter spot, where the ground begins to decline towards the north, at the head of the valley of the Saltine, stand the remains of an old baronial tower, now converted into a Hospice, and occupied by a few Bernardine monks—the Hospice on the opposite side of the road, which was commenced by Buonaparte, being suffered to remain in an unfinished state.

At a very short distance below the Hospice is the fourth or glacier gallery, and there are also two others to be traversed during the descent. The valley of the Saltine, however, is much less winding than the Val Vedro, and at the point where the descent commences, you may look down at once upon the banks of the Rhone.

Eustace, who inspected the Simplon road, when as yet it was carried no further on the Italian side than the village of Gondo, vainly endeavours to depreciate it; pronouncing the first gallery an insignificant work in comparison of the Grotto of Posilipo—making no allowance for the difference between granite and sand-stone—and the road itself equally unfit to be compared with the Appian Way. Succeeding travellers, however, seem, without ex-

ception, to have come to a directly opposite conclusion. "This great work," says Mathews, "does, I think, eclipse all the fabled exploits which 'Græcia mendax,' or 'Roma mendacior,' have handed down to us. Xerxes' adventure with Mount Athos was nothing to it. Napoleon has burst through solid rocks, that would have defied Hannibal with all his vinegar: he has *abridged rivers*—in a word, he has played the very devil. The rocks frown at you*, and seem

To wonder how the devil you got there,

while they hang over your head, as if preparing every moment to come thundering down with a tremendous πεδονδε κυλινδετο, to punish you for daring to invade their secret and solemn solitudes, and make

At once your murder and your monument."

"When," observes another tourist in the same strain of panegyric, "we contemplate the stupendous height of the Simplon, the numerous and appalling precipices with which it abounds, the impetuous torrents which deluge its declivities, and the tremendous avalanches with which its woods are frequently rooted up and its rocks overthrown, we cannot but acknowledge that men who, in defiance of

* "It would seem (observes the same writer) as if nature in these regions could not help breaking out into excrescence, as well in the animate, as in the inanimate part of the creation; and the *goitre* is very frequent; but this we are led to expect;"—

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?—*Juv.*

obstructions such as these, could form a road exempt even from the appearance of danger, capable of braving the most furious storms, resisting the giant hand of Time, and conducting human beings, cattle, and every kind of carriage, quickly and safely, through regions of eternal snow, deserve, in point of genius, to be ranked not only with, but even above the ancient Romans, whose works of this description can, in no instance, vie with the descent from the village of Simplon to the vale of Domo d'Ossola*." In a word, we may safely say, with the author of Sketches in Italy, that, "after granting all that in justice and equity takes off from the merit of this great undertaking, he must be a prejudiced traveller indeed who can make the passage of the Simplon without admiration of the extraordinary enterprise so well and so expeditiously achieved."

The construction of the road, on the side of the Valais, was entrusted to French engineers; and, on the side of Italy, where it presented far greater difficulties, to Fabbroni, the same individual to whose ingenuity Florence is indebted for her celebrated collection of anatomical preparations in wax. In both cases, as Mathews observes, "the zig-zag ascent and descent are so skilfully managed, that you may trot up and down without difficulty or danger†. The character of the scenery on the

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* Stark's Traveller's Guide.

† . . . . . Now the scene is changed,
And o'er the Simplon, o'er the Splughen winds
A path of pleasure.—*Rogers.*

Swiss side is much less bold and grand than that on the Italian. The Val Vedro contains every ingredient of the sublime that can be found in natural scenery—mountain — rock — precipice — torrent — water-fall — forest—in their wildest forms; but when you arrive at the summit of the Simplon, you are presented with a softer scene, and look down upon the verdant valleys of Switzerland. But (continues he) I must cease to 'babble of green fields.' As for natural scenery, even sketches convey but a faint idea; and descriptive sketches are ten times worse. The poverty of language is never so apparent as when you seek to represent by words the infinite varieties of nature."

Having commenced this compilation with the passage of the Mont Cenis, I here close it with that of the Simplon; not without indulging a hope, that some will be found willing to follow me, *par monts et par vaux*, through the devious journey to which it relates; and that others, even though scared at the thought of encountering so much fatigue, will yet have the courage to travel with me through the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LANZI'S HISTORY OF PAINTING

ABRIDGED.

The Revival of Painting.

That Italy was not destitute of painters, even during the dark ages, is manifest, not only from history, but from various pictures that have withstood the ravages of time. Rome still retains several of very ancient date. Omitting her cemeteries, which have handed down to us so many Christian monuments, partly in specimens of painted glass, scattered through her museums, partly in storied walls, that have been illustrated by the learned, it will be sufficient for my purpose to notice the decoration of the whole of the church of S. Urbano, where, upon the walls, are depicted certain facts from the Gospel History, together with some legendary tales of the titular saint and St. Cecilia—a work which, not at all partaking of the Greek manner, either in the lineaments or the style of the drapery, may more properly be referred to an Italian pencil, which has subjoined the date of 1011. Many more such works, existing in different cities, might be pointed out; as, for instance, at Pesaro, the picture of the patron saints of that city, thought to be of an earlier date than the year 1000; those in the crypt of the cathedral of Aqui-

leia; that of S. Maria Primerana, at Fiesole, which also seems to be the work of that or the succeeding age; and the one at Orvieto, which, as early as the year 1199, was distinguished by the name of S. Maria Prisca, though now commonly known by that of S. Brizio;—to say nothing of the pictures of the Virgin, formerly ascribed to St. Luke, and now held to be the production of the eleventh or twelfth century. The painters of those times were, however, of little note; they produced no illustrious scholars, nor any work worthy to form an epoch. The art had gradually degenerated into a kind of mechanical operation, which, after the manner of the Greeks, employed on the mosaics in the church of St. Mark, at Venice, constantly exhibited the same religious subjects; never attempting to represent nature, without distorting it. It was not till after the middle of the thirteenth century that any thing better was effected; and the first step towards the formation of a new style was the bringing about an improvement in sculpture.

The glory of having accomplished this is due to the Tuscans; and more especially to the Pisans. They were the first to teach their fellow-artists to shake off the trammels of the modern Greeks, and adopt the ancients for their models. Italy was by no means destitute of fine specimens of Greek and Roman sculpture; but, for a long period, no artist had appeared in that country capable of appreciating their value—still less any one who shewed a disposition to imitate them. Niccola Pisano was the first to catch a ray of light, and to follow it up.

As early as the year 1231, he sculptured at Bologna the sarcophagus in S. Domenico, and from that circumstance, for it was deemed a masterly performance, was styled "Nicholas of the Urn"—*Niccola dall' Urna.* He afterwards executed, and in a much better style, the two pieces on the Last Judgment, in the cathedral of Orvieto; and the pulpit, in the church of S. Giovanni, at Pisa—works, the engravings of which demonstrate to the world, that design, invention, and composition,

received from him a new existence. He was succeeded by his scholar Arnolfo, a Florentine, the author of the tomb of Boniface VIII., in St. Peter's at Rome, and by his son Giovanni, who sculptured the monuments of Urban IV., and of Benedict IX., at Perugia. This latter afterwards executed the great altar of S. Donato, at Arezzo, a work which cost 30,000 gold florins; to say nothing of many other works of his which still exist in Naples, as well as in various cities of Tuscany. His associate, and probably also his disciple at Perugia, was Andrea of Pisa, who, establishing himself at Florence, decorated the cathedral and the church of S. Giovanni with statues; and, after the labour of two-and-twenty years, completed the great bronze gate—"the germ of all that succeeding artists created of the chaste, the difficult, and the beautiful, in the other two." In fact, he was the founder of that illustrious school which successively produced Orcagna, Donatello, and the far-famed Ghiberti, the author of those celebrated gates, at the same church, which Michael Angelo pronounced worthy to stand at the entrance of Paradise. Next to Andrea, we may notice Giovanni Balducci, of Pisa, whom, the time at which he flourished, as well as his country and his style, all lead us to refer to the same school—an artist of rare merit, employed by Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, and by Assone Visconti, Duke of Milan.

The improvement of sculpture was followed by that of mosaic, owing to the exertions of another Tuscan belonging to the order of Minor Friars, and called, from a place in the territory of Siena, Fra Jacopo, or Fra Mino da Turrita. It is not known whether he acquired the art from the Roman or Greek workers in mosaic, but it is notorious that he very far surpassed them. On contemplating the works of Mino, of which there still exist some in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, one can hardly persuade oneself that they are the production of so rude an age; and yet history constrains us to believe that they are. It seems, therefore, a probable conjecture, that he too turned his

thoughts to the imitation of the ancients, and took example from the less rude specimens of mosaic, still existing in several of the Roman churches; of which the design is less crude, the attitudes less forced, the composition more chaste, than in those of the Greeks who decorated the church of St. Mark, at Venice.

Painting, which had no such models to boast of as those above mentioned, long continued in a rude state, compared with mosaic, and still more so, compared with sculpture. Yet we must not therefore imagine, that, at the birth of Cimabue, that is, in 1240, the "whole race of artists was extinct," according to the exaggerated expression of Vasari. This must be looked upon as mere exaggeration, since he himself has recorded several sculptors, architects, and painters then living; and the general scope of those less cautious expressions of his, against which so many writers have inveighed, and still continue to inveigh, favours the same opinion.

The city of Pisa could boast, at that time, not only painters, but a school for each of the fine arts. Morrona, who has illustrated its annals, deduces the origin of these schools immediately from Greece. In the year 1063, the Pisans, already very powerful both by sea and land, being about to erect that magnificent structure, their cathedral, had induced illuminators and other painters to accompany Buschetto, the architect, from that country; and these men reared up certain scholars among the Pisan citizens. The Greeks were, at that time, ill qualified to teach, for they knew but little themselves. Their first pupils at Pisa seem to have been a few anonymous artists, some of whose illuminations and old paintings are still in existence. There is in the cathedral a manuscript containing the *Exultet* usually chaunted on the Saturday in Passion Week; and in this we see, every here and there, illuminations exhibiting figures, together with animals and plants; a monument, as it is thought, of the earlier part of the twelfth century, and yet not so very rude in point of execution. There are, too, in this cathedral, as well as elsewhere,

certain paintings of the same century, containing figures of the Virgin, with the Infant Jesus on her right arm; rude, it is true, yet such, that in them we may trace the continuation of the same school down to the time of Giunta. Giunta's native place possesses no well authenticated picture of his, except a Crucifixion subscribed with his name, and believed to be one of his earliest works. He produced some better pieces at Assisi, whither he had been invited to paint about the year 1230. In the church of the Angioli is the best preserved work of this master: it is a Crucifixion painted on a wooden cross; on the extremities, the sides, and upper part of which, are represented the Virgin and two other half-length figures. The figures are considerably less than life, the design dry, the fingers excessively long. There is, however, a degree of correctness in the representation of the naked figure, an expression of grief in the heads, and a skilfulness in the plaiting of the drapery, far superior to any thing effected by the Greeks, his contemporaries; the colours, though in his fleshes somewhat inclining to a bronze hue, are laid on with strength; the local tints, judiciously varied; the chiaroscuro, hit off with some degree of skill; the whole, in short, not inferior, except in the proportions, to the Crucifixions, with similar half-length figures, ascribed to Cimabue. Some of Giunta's fresco paintings are still to be seen in the mother church of the Franciscans; and in these, according to Vasari, he was assisted by certain Greeks. Some few half-lengths and historical pieces still remain in the tribune and the contiguous chapels. Some are of opinion that these paintings have been injudiciously retouched; and this may serve to excuse the drawing, which in many parts may have been impaired; but the feebleness of the colouring cannot be disputed. These works, compared with what Cimabue executed there about forty years afterwards, plainly shew that Giunta had not sufficiently mastered this branch of the profession.

By this school, as some will have it, the art was dissemi-

nated in these early times over all Tuscany; although we must not neglect to observe, that there, as well as in other parts of Italy, there were illuminators, who, of their own accord, transferring their talent from small to larger works, betook themselves, and, as we know was the case with Franco of Bologna, incited others, to painting on walls and panel. Whatever we may please to fancy, Siena could at this period boast her Guido, who painted, and that not altogether in the manner of the Greeks, as early as the year 1221. Lucca, also, in the year 1235, possessed one Bonaventura Berlingieri, of whom there still exists, in the little town of Guiglia, not far from Modena, a St. Francis, described as a work of considerable merit for the age. In 1288, the same place produced another painter, known by a Crucifixion which he left at S. Cerbone, a short distance from the city, with the following inscription: "Deodatus filius Orlandi de Lucca me pinxit, A. D. 1288." Arezzo had her Margaritone, a disciple, as well as an imitator of the Greeks, who, to all appearance, must have been born several years before Cimabue. He painted on canvass, and was the first, according to Vasari, to hit upon a method of rendering pictures more durable, and less liable to crack. He used to spread the panel over with canvass, which he laid on with a strong glue made of shreds of parchment; and then covered the whole with a preparation of chalk *(gesso)* before he began to paint. Some of his Crucifixions may still be seen at Arezzo, and one of them at the church of S. Croce, at Florence, near another by Cimabue—both of them in the old manner, and not so different in point of merit, but that Margaritone, though more rude, may yet be styled a painter, if we confer that title on Cimabue.

Nevertheless, we must not disguise the fact, that there is no city to which painting is so much indebted as to Florence, nor any name so proper to mark an epoch as that of Cimabue. The painters hitherto mentioned had but few followers; their schools, with the exception of that of Siena, languished for a time, and

then either gradually dwindled away, or became incorporated with that of Florence. This school in a short time eclipsed every other; this school has invariably flourished, exhibiting a proud list of artists in one continued succession, uninterrupted even down to our own days. Let us deduce it from its source.

CIMABUE.

Giovanni Cimabue, descended from a noble family, was both architect and painter. If we take history for our guide, it would seem that he acquired the art from those Greeks who had been invited to Florence, and who, according to Vasari, executed some works in S. Maria Novella. Cimabue seems to have followed them in early life; and probably it was then that he painted the St. Francis, and the little legendary pieces that surround it, in the church of S. Croce. But that picture, though ascribed to Cimabue, is, if I mistake not, by an unknown hand: at any rate, it neither exhibits the manner nor the colouring even of the earlier works of Cimabue:—such, for instance, as the St. Cecilia, with the circumstances attending her martyrdom, which was removed from the church dedicated to the saint herself, and placed in that of S. Stefano—a picture far superior to the St. Francis.

However this may be, Cimabue, like other Italians of his time, got the better of his Greek education, which seems to have consisted in causing one artist to go on copying another, without ever attempting to improve upon the manner of his master. He took nature for his guide; corrected, in some degree, the stiff parallelism of attitude which then prevailed; gave animation to the heads; and hit off the folds of the drapery, as well as grouped the figures, much more skilfully than the Greeks. His talent was not for the graceful; his Madonnas are not remarkable for

their beauty; his angels have, in the same piece, all of them the same forms. Austere as the age in which he lived, he succeeded admirably in the heads of men full of character, especially those of old men; investing them with a certain air of grandeur and sublimity, which the moderns have scarcely been able to surpass. Endowed with a vast and comprehensive mind, he set the first example of large compositions, which he executed also in large proportions. His two great pictures of the Madonna at Florence—the one in the possession of the Dominicans, with certain half-length figures of saints represented on the steps; the other, in the church of S. Trinita, accompanied by those prophets whose looks are so august—do not convey so just an idea of his style as his fresco works in the mother church of Assisi, where he stands forth a truly admirable painter for the age in which he lived. In those historical pieces from the Old and New Testament, such as still remain—for time has defaced, or, at least, injured many of them—he appears like another Ennius, who, even in his first rude attempts at the Roman epic, emits flashes of genius that would not displease a Virgil. Vasari justly bestows even higher encomiums upon the pictures on the ceiling. They are still in good preservation; and although some of the figures of Christ, and of the Virgin more particularly, retain a good deal of the Greek manner; others, representing the Evangelists and doctors instructing the monks of the Franciscan order, exhibit an originality of conception and arrangement which we look for in vain in contemporary works. The colouring is vigorous; the figures, in consideration of the distance, are gigantic, and the proportions not badly preserved: in short, painting may there be said to have attempted what, till then, had scarcely been attempted by mosaic. All these are merits which ought not to be lost sight of, when we would compare the Florentine artist with the Pisans or the Sienese.

GIOTTO.

If Cimabue was the Michael Angelo of that age, Giotto was its Raphael. Such elegance did painting assume in his hands, that, till the time of Masaccio, no one, either of his own, or of any other school, surpassed, or even equalled him, at least in gracefulness of manner. Giotto was born in the country, and at first led the life of a shepherd; but he was also born a painter, and was continually amusing himself with sketching some object or other around him. A sheep which he had drawn to the life on a piece of slate, attracted the notice of Cimabue, who happened to be passing by the spot, and who, having obtained his father's permission, took him to Florence, with a view of affording him proper instruction; confident that in him he was about to rear up a new ornament to the profession. Giotto began by imitating his master, but very soon surpassed him. An Annunciation of his, in the possession of the Padri di Badìa, is one of his earliest performances; the style, though still somewhat dry, evinces a degree of grace and finish indicative of the improvement we subsequently discern. Through him the symmetry became more correct, the design more agreeable, the colouring more soft: the meagre hands, the sharp pointed feet, and goggling eyes, remnants of the Greek style, these deformities were all softened down by him.

Of this transition it is not possible to assign the exact cause, as in the case of later painters; yet some cause there must have been, and that referable not solely to the genius of the artist, divine as it might almost be called, but to adventitious helps also. To me it seems that, as the great M. Angelo, by dint of modelling and copying the remains of ancient sculpture, was soon enabled to surpass his master, Ghirlandaio, in painting, so the same must have occurred in the case of Giotto. At any rate, we know that he too cultivated sculpture, and that his mo-

dels were preserved to the time of Lorenzo Ghiberti. Nor was he destitute of approved models to copy from. Florence could boast of various specimens of ancient sculpture, which may still be seen near the cathedral; to say nothing of those which he afterwards saw at Rome; and their merit, then already established by the example of Niccola and Giovanni of Pisa, could not have escaped Giotto, whom nature had endowed with so exquisite a sense of the chaste and the beautiful. On contemplating certain of his male heads, as well as certain of his figures, displaying a fulness of contour far removed from the meagre forms exhibited by his contemporaries—on beholding his taste in light, natural, and stately drapery, as well as certain of his attitudes, which, after the manner of the ancients, breathe grace and repose—one can scarcely doubt that he derived no small advantage from ancient sculpture.

His very first pieces from the life of the patriarch St. Francis, executed at Assisi, near the paintings of his master, shew how greatly he had already outstripped him. As the work advances, we find him becoming gradually more and more correct; while, towards its conclusion, he displays greater variety of design in the countenances, and greater accuracy in the extremities; the features too, are more animated, the attitudes more ingenious, and the landscape more natural. To one who carefully examines these works, their composition appears, perhaps, the most surprising of all; a branch of the art in which he not only went on continually outdoing his previous efforts, but sometimes reached a degree of excellence that seems scarcely to be surpassed. Sometimes he sought to impart an air of grandeur to his historical pieces, by the occasional introduction of architectural ornaments, which he usually represented of a red, blue, or yellow colour, such as was then used in staining houses, and not unfrequently of a dazzling white, like that of Parian marble. Among his happiest efforts in the above-mentioned work, is the picture of a man parched with thirst, to the expression of which

scarcely could any thing have been added by the animating pencil of Raphael himself. The like tastefulness, too, distinguishes whatever he executed in the lower church; and these are, perhaps, the best works of this master that have come down to our times, though specimens of them may still be seen at Ravenna, Padua, Rome, Florence, and Pisa. They are assuredly the most spirited of them all; for he has there, with images the most poetical, shadowed forth the saint eschewing Vice, and following after Virtue; and there, I suspect, it was, that he set the first example of allegorical painting, so familiar to his more distinguished followers.

His other works, executed in different cities, which treat for the most part of subjects drawn from the New Testament, are repeated by him in nearly the same manner in several different places, and are usually most pleasing where the proportions of the figures are the smallest. His small pictures, representing different actions of St. Peter and St. Paul, together with some figures of the Virgin and various saints, in the sacristy of the Vatican, look like most beautiful and highly finished illuminations; as also do those others in the church of S. Croce, at Florence, all of them taken from Scripture History, or from the life of St. Francis. The art of portrait painting may be said to date its origin from him, by whom we have had transmitted to us correct likenesses of Dante, Brunetto Latini, and Corso Donati. Others had attempted it before him, but, according to Vasari, no one had succeeded in it. The art of working in mosaic too, was improved by Giotto. A mosaic of his workmanship, called the *Navicella di S. Pietro*, may still be seen over the portico of St. Peter's; but so pieced a thing is it now, that it no longer retains any vestiges of the original design, and would no longer be taken for one of this artist's works. Some will have it that the art of painting in miniature, in those days so much in vogue for the illuminating of missals, was also indebted to him for some improvement. That architecture was so, there

can be no doubt; the admirable belfry of the Florentine cathedral is the work of Giotto.

Giotto may as truly be called the father of modern painting, as Boccaccio was of modern prose. A Simon da Siena, a Stefano da Firenze, a Pietro Laurati, imparted charms to the art; but they, as well as other distinguished individuals, owed to Giotto the transition from the old to a newer method. This new style he essayed in Tuscany: and, while yet a young man, made such progress in it as to excite universal admiration. No sooner did he return from Assisi, than Boniface VIII. invited him to Rome; no sooner was the papal seat transferred to Avignon, than he was invited by Clement V. to pass over into France. Before he went thither he was constrained to make some stay at Padua; and on his return, a few years afterwards, he was again induced to spend some time at the same place. Italy was at that time, in many of its divisions, under a republican form of government, but it abounded also with powerful families, which domineered over this or that quarter, and which, even while seeking to embellish their country, were aiming at its subjugation. Giotto, in preference to all other artists, was every where in request. The Polentani of Ravenna, the Malatesti of Rimini, the Estensi of Ferrari, the Visconti of Milan, the Scala of Verona, Castruccio of Lucca, and even Robert King of Naples, eagerly sought to engage him, and for some period retained him in their service. Milan, Urbino, Arezzo, and Bologna, were also ambitious of possessing his works; while Pisa, whose Campo Santo*,—like Corinth and Delphi of old, (Plin. xxxv. 9.)

* This spot, which will ever form an honourable monument of Pisan magnificence, would have constituted an inestimable museum, if the paintings executed there by Giotto, Memmi, Stefano of Florence, Buffalmacco, Antonio Veneziano, the two Orcagni, Spinello of Arezzo, and Laurati or Laurenti, had been preserved in their pristine state; but the greater number of them, having suffered much from damp, were retouched, though not without considerable judgment, during this present eighteenth century.

—afforded the most distinguished artists of Tuscany an arena where they might fairly vie with each other, was indebted to him for those historical pieces from the life of Job, which, though among his earliest performances, are yet deservedly admired. When Giotto was no more, the like applause was lavished on his disciples: the cities of Italy eagerly contended for the honour of employing them, preferring them even to the native artists themselves. Thus did Giotto serve as a model for students during the whole of the fourteenth, as did subsequently Raphael in the sixteenth, and the Carracci in the following century; nor do I know where to look in Italy for a fourth manner that has had such general vogue as that of these three schools. There were, indeed, even in other states, some who by dint of innate talent had been led to adopt a new style; they were, however, but little prized, and indeed but little known, beyond the confines of their own country. Of the Florentines alone can it be asserted, that they disseminated the modern style from one extremity of Italy to the other. In the revival of painting, therefore, though not the whole, yet the chief praise is due to them.

Associations and Methods of the Old Painters.

SUBSEQUENT to the death of Giotto, which took place in 1336, I find that painters had multiplied at Florence to an astonishing degree. Not long afterwards—that is, in the year 1349, they formed themselves into a religious fraternity, denominated the society of St. Luke. This was not the first association of the kind that had sprung up in Italy, as Baldinucci affirms: even previous to the year 1290 there was a society of painters established at Venice, of which Luke was the patron saint. Yet neither could this, nor the Florentine, nor the Bolognese, nor any other similar association, be called academies of design;

but simply schools of Christian devotion, such as formerly existed, and still exist, in many of the arts. Nor did they consist of painters only: these, indeed, always occupied the post of honour; but in the same society were incorporated artisans "who wrought in metal and wood, whose works afforded more or less scope for design," as Baldinucci observes of the Florentines. In like manner, in the Venetian association were comprised trunk-makers, gilders, and the lowest daubers; in that of Bologna, even saddlers and scabbard-makers.

He who should trace these associations to their source would find them to have originated in the intermixture of different sorts of work in the handicrafts then in vogue. At that time, all sorts of furniture, such as cupboards, benches, and chests, that were wrought by mechanics, were subsequently painted, and that too, not unfrequently in the same shop, by those whose business it was to supply ornaments and figures—especially when intended as depositories for the outfit of brides. Many old cabinet pictures have been cut out from such pieces of furniture, and thus been transmitted to posterity. As to pictures intended for altar-pieces, these, throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, were never prepared, as is the practice now-a-days, on a part detached from the surrounding ornaments. In the first place, *dittici*—that is to say, little altars, in many parts of Italy called *ancone*—were formed out of wood, and elaborately ornamented with carving*. The design of these *ancone* was made to accord

* Among Christians, it was a practice of very ancient date, to place upon the altars, during the sacrifice of the mass, silver or ivory *dittici*, which, when the sacred rite was over, were folded up like a book, and taken away. The same make was retained, even after the introduction of the larger altar-pieces, which, in like manner, consisted of two wings, and were easily removed. This custom, of which I have met with but few vestiges in Italy, was for a long time retained in the Greek Church. At length, by degrees, artists betook themselves to painting on a single panel.—(See Bonarruoti, Vetri Antichi, p. 258, &c.)

with the Teutonic, or, as it is commonly called, the Gothic architecture, as seen in the façades of churches built in that age. The whole work was a tissue of minuteness; a compound of little tabernacles, pyramids, and niches; while on the field of the panel were represented various sham doors and windows, with semicircular or pointed arches—a style very characteristic of the period. In the centre I have now and then observed little statues in mezzo-relievo. More frequently, however, the painter placed there entire or half-length figures of saints. Sometimes, too, various little niches—*formelle*—were prepared, for the purpose of admitting small historical pictures. And not unfrequently a step or two was annexed to the little altar, where, in different compartments, were represented historical pieces relative to our Saviour, the Virgin, and the Martyrs, either real or fictitious. The carvers were so vain of their craft, that they sometimes inscribed their own names before that of the painter*.

Even cabinet pictures were prepared by the carvers, sometimes as *trittici*, sometimes of an oblong form; and these they enclosed in heavy frames, decorated with rude foliage, or else encircled them with a sort of lacework, or arabesque ornament. At that time, pictures were seldom committed to canvass alone, though I have met with a few pictures of this sort at Florence, and more of them among the Venetians and the Bolognese; in general, however, recourse was had to panel. Such panels as were enclosed in the above-mentioned frames were often covered with canvass, not unfrequently with parchment, and sometimes with leather; in which cases, it is probable they were prepared by those who usually wrought in such materials; and hence the reason why, in some places, even saddlers were incorporated with painters.

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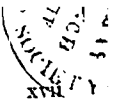
* Thus, Vasari, in his "Life of Spinello of Arezzo:"—"Simone Cini, of Florence, did the carving; Gabriello Saracini, the gilding; and Spinello di Luca, of Arezzo, the painting, in the year 1385."

From history we learn, that the decorations of painting were lavished, not only on shields designed for war or the tournament, but also on various equestrian accoutrements, as the saddles and trappings of horses. Hence sword-makers and saddlers became associated with painters. Among them in like manner may perhaps have been included those who prepared walls for fresco-painting, and who covered them with a reddish ground, which is still not unfrequently discoverable in the flaws. On this colour the figures were designed, and such walls served as the cartoons of those old masters. They had, moreover, stucco workers for their coadjutors in the execution of those relieved ornaments which we meet with in fresco-painting. In works of this sort I suspect they used moulds; for the globules, flowerets, and little stars, that we meet with on gilt plaster, gilt leather, gilt board, or even on gilt playing cards, evidently appear to have been formed with a stamp. Whatever was the substance on which they painted, gold was usually employed; with it they embellished the grounds of their pictures, the glories of their saints, and even their garments and fringes. Although painters themselves were not unskilled in such matters, it appears that they availed themselves of the assistance of carvers and gilders, who, consequently, became classed with painters, and, like them, inscribed their works with their names.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, when the Gothic style of architecture was now going into disuse, the design of the carvers underwent some improvement; it was then that they began to place over the sacred altars oblong panels, separated by various partitions, made to resemble pilasters, or small columns, while between them they sometimes inserted sham doors or windows; so that the *ancona* bore some resemblance to the façade of a palace or church. Above the *ancona*, they now and then placed a frieze, and above the frieze a sort of pediment, on which other figures were portrayed. The saints they disposed beneath; not unfrequently giving a representation of their ac-



tions in some little niche, or on the steps. By degrees the partitions were dispensed with, and the proportions of the figures enlarged, while the saints were ranged on a single panel around the throne of the Virgin, no longer stiff and erect, like so many statues, as had hitherto been the fashion, but in different attitudes and positions, a custom which prevailed also during the fifteenth century. The practice of gilding the grounds very much declined towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the drapery was then more profusely gilded than ever, nor were the fringes ever so deep as at that period; till at length, towards the close of the century, gold was more sparingly employed, and in the following was almost wholly abandoned.

The observations which we have just made will not be altogether useless to the connoisseur, when he happens to be in doubt as to the age of a picture on which there are no written characters. Where there are letters, he may proceed with still greater confidence. The characters commonly called Gothic, though met with in some places earlier, in others later, are no where to be found before the year 1200; and these Gothic characters were loaded more and more with superfluous lines throughout the whole of the fourteenth, and till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Roman alphabet came again into fashion.

Florentine Painters.

FROM THE TIME OF GIOTTO DOWN TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From the number of painters worthy of commemoration, I do not even exclude Buffalmacco, that facetious individual, whose jokes, recorded by Boccaccio and Sacchetti, have contributed more than his pictures to his celebrity. His real name was Buonamico di Cristofano. He had been a pupil of Tafi's, but, having been long the contemporary of Giotto, he had had ample opportunity of modernizing his style. He was a man of a very lively disposition, "and when he chose to take pains and exert himself—a circumstance which rarely happened—he was not inferior to any of his contemporaries." So says Vasari; and pity it is that his best works, which were in Badìa and Ognisanti, should have perished, and that none but his less studied performances, at Arezzo and Pisa, should have come down to us. The best preserved of these are in the Campo Santo—the Creation of the World, where there is a figure of the Eternal Father, five *braccia* high, in the act of sustaining the mighty fabric of the universe, and three other historical pieces, representing Adam, his children, and Noah. There too, we meet with representations of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Saviour. In these pictures we neither meet with beauty nor sufficient variety in the heads; the devout women at the foot of the cross display nearly all of them the same features, ungainly in themselves, and rendered still more so by the unsightly opening of the mouth. There is, however, here and there, a male head that rivets the attention, either on account of its vivacity, or the

peculiar cast of the countenance, as is especially the case with that of Cain. Sometimes too, he merits commendation for the air of nature which he has imparted to the action, as in the case of the man who, filled with horror, is seen flying from the cruel spectacle on Mount Calvary. His draperies are well diversified, distinguished by a variety of stuffs and linings, and elaborately ornamented with flowers and fringes. Even previous to his labours in the Campo Santo, he wrought at S. Paolo à Ripa d'Arno, where he had for his companion one Bruno di Giovanni, formerly his fellow-student. Unable to equal Buffalmacco in expression, he usually sought to supply the deficiency by words; appending to the mouths of his figures a scroll for the purpose of explaining what the features and the actions were incapable of conveying; a practice in which, as he was preceded by Cimabue, so was he followed by the whimsical Orcagna and others. This Bruno, together with Nello di Dino, was Buffalmacco's companion in the tricks played off on honest Calendrino. All these are indebted for their celebrity to Boccaccio, who introduces them in the eighth day of his "Decameron."

I suspect, too, that Bernardo Orcagna, whose fame equalled that of Buffalmacco, also belonged to some one of the old schools. He was the son of one Cione, a sculptor, and had a brother, Jacopo, who was also a sculptor; another brother, named Andrea, surpassed all the rest of the family, combining in his own person so intimate an acquaintance with the three sister arts, that by some he was deemed second only to Giotto. He is known among architects for having substituted the semicircular for the pointed arch. Bernardo initiated him in the principles of painting. The Paradiso of the Strozzi chapel, in the church of S. Maria Novella, as well as the Inferno opposite to it, was the joint work of Andrea and Bernardo: the two pictures of Death and the Last Judgment, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, were executed by Andrea; that of the Inferno by Bernardo—pictures which Andrea repeated in a still happier manner in the

church of S. Croce, where he introduced the portraits of his enemies among the damned, while those of his benefactors were placed among the elect. In these works he paved the way for those analogous performances, which are preserved in the church of S. Petronio at Bologna, the cathedral of Tolentino, the Badia del Sesto in the province of Friuli, and various other places; where the infernal regions are represented as divided into a variety of abysses, according as Dante had divided them, and these distinguished by a variety of torments. Some few altar-pieces of Andrea's are still in existence. In his compositions he was less chaste, in his attitudes less correct, than the followers of Giotto, to whom he must also yield the palm in symmetry and colouring.

Some notice must here be taken of Bernardo Nello, son of Giovanni Falconi of Pisa, who, in the cathedral of that city, executed a considerable number of pictures, and has been thought to be the same with that Nello di Vanni, who, of all the Pisan painters, was the only one employed in the Campo Santo during the fourteenth century. Francesco Traini, a Florentine, is still known as having been far superior to his master, by a picture of his that still exists in the church of St. Catherine at Pisa, in which he portrayed St. Thomas Aquinas in his own proper features, and in his greatest glory. St. Thomas occupies the centre of the picture, beneath the Saviour, who sheds rays of light upon the Evangelists and the Saint; while from the latter they are again transmitted to a crowd of hearers—monks, doctors, bishops, cardinals, with here and there a pope. At the feet of the Saint, as if overpowered by the force of his arguments, are seen Arians and other heretics; while, by his side, stand Plato and Aristotle with their works open—a culpable anachronism in a subject like this. In this work we discover no skilfulness of grouping, no knowledge of relief; while it exhibits attitudes either too forced or too tame. The heads, however, possess so much expression, the dresses set

before us so exact a picture of antiquity, and the composition evinces such a degree of novelty, that we cannot but contemplate it with delight. Let us now pass on to the followers of Giotto.

The same mischance that befalls the followers of most illustrious men, has, with few exceptions, befallen the followers of Giotto—despairing to surpass, they have merely aimed at acquiring facility in imitating him. Hence, among the Florentines and other artists of the fourteenth century, who flourished subsequently to Giotto, the progress of art was less rapid than might have been expected. Where, as in several of the above-mentioned cities, we have an opportunity of confronting Giotto's pictures with those of Cavallini, Gaddi, and others, we invariably find that, all things considered, Giotto appears the most finished master; and whoever is at all conversant with his style stands in no need of a laboured description of that of his followers, which, though evidently resembling his, is upon the whole less grand and less graceful. Stefano Fiorentino is the only one of whom Vasari would lead us to entertain a higher opinion; according to whose account, Stefano far surpassed Giotto in every department of the art. He was the son of Giotto's daughter Catherine, and inherited a turn for encountering the difficulties of art, and an ardent desire of conquering them. He was the first that attempted foreshortening in painting; and if in this respect he did not succeed so well as he expected, he at least succeeded in improving the perspective of buildings, as well as in bettering the attitudes, and in imparting greater variety and animation to the heads of his figures. According to Landino's account, he was styled the *Ape of Nature*—the panegyric of a rude age; for that creature, in his attempts to imitate the works of man, always debases them, whereas Stefano aimed at equalling or embellishing those of nature. In the Campo Santo at Pisa, there is a picture of our Saviour pointed out as his, which is confessedly in a grander style than any

of his master's works; but this picture has been retouched. A Pietà, by Tommaso his disciple, and, as some will have it, his son, still exists in S. Remigi at Florence, than which nothing can be more in Giotto's style; as is the case also with certain frescos of his at Assisi: insomuch that he well merited the epithet Giottino, conferred upon him by his fellow citizens, who used to say that Giotto's soul had transmigrated, and animated him. Giovanni Tossicani, who was employed at Pisa and in every part of Tuscany, was a scholar of Giottino's. In the baptistry of Arezzo, there still exist the figures of St. Philip and St. James, executed by him, and retouched by Vasari while yet a young man; who admits that he learnt a good deal from this work, injured as it was. With him the best branch of the *Giotteschi* became extinct.

Taddeo Gaddi is, as it were, the Giulio Romano of Giotto; his most intimate as well as favourite pupil. Vasari, who saw his frescos and other paintings at Florence, while they were yet in tolerable preservation, alleges that he surpassed his master in colouring and softness of execution. Taddeo lived beyond the term assigned him by Vasari, and survived the best of those whom we have hitherto mentioned. This we gather from a contemporary writer, Franco Sacchetti, who, in his 136th tale, records that Andrea Orcagna started the following query:— "Putting Giotto out of the question, who was the greatest painter? One said Cimabue, another Stefano, a third Bernardo, a fourth Buffalmacco; in short, some said one, some another. Taddeo Gaddi, who happened to be of the party, observed; These, doubtless, were very distinguished painters, but the art has been, and still is, declining every day," &c.

At his death he left a few disciples, who became the heads of different families of painters at Florence and other places. Taddeo's most intimate disciples, however, were Giovanni da Milano and Jacopo del Casentino. To both of them he commended on his death-bed his two sons, whom he brought up to the profes-

sion: Giovanni, who died at an early age, with the reputation of possessing a promising genius; and Angiolo, who, as still standing in need of guardians, must have been very young, and who, according to Vasari, died at the age of sixty-three, or, as Baldinucci adds, in the year 1389. Content to imitate the style of Giotto and of his father, in which he succeeded to admiration, he contributed less to the advancement of art than he might otherwise have done.

To Angiol Gaddi's school is also referred one Antonio Veneziano. We are, however, led to doubt the propriety of this, from Antonio's design and manner in those historical pieces from the life of S. Ranieri, which still exist in the Campo Santo at Pisa; where there is a degree of elegance, a finish, and a smartness of composition, which savour of another school: added to which, Vasari remarked in them a mode of executing frescos, without once retouching them when dry, which seems evidently derived from another source, and differs widely from that adopted by the Tuscan artists, his competitors; whose paintings, in the time of the biographer, were not in so good a state of preservation as those of Antonio.

According to history, we are indebted to Antonio for Paolo Uccello, who made considerable improvement in perspective; as well as for Starnina, who distinguished himself in the gay style, and some of whose works still remain in one of the chapels of S. Croce. These are considered as among the last works executed in the style of Giotto, from which succeeding artists now began to depart, in order to pursue a better.

Among the disciples of Taddeo Gaddi, I have already mentioned Jacopo del Casentino, of whose style, which closely resembled that of Taddeo, some vestiges still remain in the church of Orsanmichele. Jacopo initiated in the art Spinello of Arezzo, a man of very lively fancy, as we may gather both from certain pictures of his in that city, and from his life. He was one of those that had the honour of decorating the Campo Santo

at Pisa; and to him we owe those figures of the two martyrs, S. Petito and S. Epiro, which Vasari eulogizes above all his other performances. He is, however, inferior to his competitors, both from the dryness of his design, and the bad choice of his colours, in which green and black predominate to the exclusion of a due admixture of other tints. At Arezzo also, there still remains, in the church of S. Agnolo, the Fall of the Angels, with that terrific-looking Lucifer, the sight of which subsequently, in a dream, so affected his spirits and his health, that he died soon afterwards. To Spinello's school belonged one Bernardo Daddi of Arezzo; as did also Parri, Spinello's own son, who, after the manner of Masolino, somewhat modernized his style; a painter of rare merit in the art of colouring, though extravagant in design; making his figures of an excessive length and somewhat stooping, in order that, according to his own account, they might possess an air of greater spirit. Remains of his works are to be seen at Arezzo in S. Domenico and other places. Lorenzo di Bicci, a Florentine, another scholar of Spinello's, was, as it were, the Vasari of his time, for the multitude of works that he produced, the quickness with which he despatched them, and his readiness to be satisfied with them. S. Croce contains several specimens of them: in the first cloister some pieces from the life of St. Francis, and on the façade an Assumption, in which he was assisted by Donatello, then a young man. Neri, his son, is considered as one of the last of the *Giotteschi*. He died young, leaving behind him at S. Romolo an altar-piece that might have done honour to his father, and one that was certainly better finished than most works of the latter.

As, during the fourteenth century, painting had a great number of followers at Florence, so also had sculpture a great many followers at Pisa; not that Pisa was therefore destitute of painters worthy of being commemorated. Vasari makes mention of a certain Vicino, who, with the assistance of Tafi and Gaddo,

finished the mosaic that Turrita had begun, and says further that he was a painter. According to Morrona he pursued the old style of his school, and not only he but many others, as is evident from various Madonnas on wood, some by anonymous artists, some by artists whose names are known. Subsequently, after the example of the rest of the Italians, the Pisans went on modernizing their style; and, like Florence and Siena, produced families of painters, in which the fathers were surpassed by their sons, and these again by theirs. Towards the close of the century, the power of the Pisans declined, rather from civil discord than from any other cause; till at length, in 1406, the city—falling into the hands of the Florentines, humbled in the dust, and stripped not only of artists but almost of inhabitants—lay for a long time in solitude and wretchedness, and amply gratified the long-cherished enmity of rival states.

Meanwhile, the spirit of the Florentines kept pace with the expansion of their territory; nor had they any thing so much at heart as to give their Capital an air of magnificence worthy of so flourishing a state. Cosmo, at once the father of his country and the patron of men of genius, gave a tone to public affairs. Lorenzo the Magnificent succeeded, and afterwards others of the Medici, whose hereditary taste for literature and the fine arts is recorded in a thousand works. Their house was at once a Lyceum for philosophers, an Arcadia for poets, and an Academy for artists. Dello, Paolo, Masaccio, the two Peselli, both the Lippi, Benozzo, Sandro, the Ghirlandaj, enjoyed the constant patronage of that family, and, as far as in them lay, did it constant homage. Their paintings, which, according to the fashion of the times, were crowded with portraits, continually presented to the populace the features of the Medici; and not unfrequently, in their pictures of the Epiphany, represented them arrayed in regal ornaments, as if to prepare the people by degrees to behold the sceptre and the royal robe securely established in that family. The good taste of the Medici was seconded by the rest

of the citizens, who being at that time divided into different fraternities, according to the different wards they inhabited or the different occupations they pursued, strove with mutual emulation to decorate both their private dwellings and their churches. Not only were they animated by a regard for the magnificence of their city, but by a feeling of devotion also, which, in matters relating to divine worship, is ever marked by a degree of liberality not only among the great, but even among the lower orders of the people, such that those who have not witnessed it can scarcely be brought to credit it. They had already erected their cathedral, as the scene of the more august ceremonies of their religion; and here and there other churches sprang up: these and others that were of older date, they vied with each other in decorating with paintings—a luxury unknown to their ancestors, and not yet very common among the other cities of Italy. It was this disposition that gave rise, even as early as the preceding century, to that astonishing number of painters already noticed; and from the same source proceeded, in the century of which we are now treating, that multitude of artisans in marble, bronze, and silver, owing to whose efforts it was that the pre-eminence in sculpture—once the boast of the Pisans—was transferred to the Florentines. It was resolved to decorate the new cathedral and baptistry, the church of Orsanmichele, and other sacred edifices, with statues and bas-reliefs: and hence at once started up Donatello, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Filarete, the Rossellini, the Pollajuoli, and Verrocchio; who produced such admirable works in marble, bronze, and silver, that they sometimes appear to have attained the very highest pitch of art, and to have equalled the ancients themselves. By these illustrious men the rising generation were initiated in design; and such was the universality of the principles they inculcated, that the transition from one art to another was rendered easy. Not unfrequently the very same individuals were sculptors, founders in bronze, goldsmiths, workers in *niello*, painters, and some-

times architects too; a circumstance that may well excite the envy of the present age, in which each individual artist is scarcely able to master one single art. So excellent was the method of instruction pursued in the various studios of Florence, and so great the excitement without! whence the reader will not think it strange, that that city should have been the first in Italy on which the golden age of painting dawned. Let us, however, trace the steps by which Florence, and with her the rest of Italy, progressively advanced in art.

The *Giotteschi* had now carried painting beyond the period of infancy, but it still continued to betray its infantine properties in various particulars, especially in *chiaroscuro*, and yet more in perspective. Their figures seem as if about to slide from the plane in which they are placed; their edifices have no true point of view; and the art of foreshortening the human figure was still in a very rude state. Stefano Fiorentino perceived rather than conquered these difficulties. Others, in general, sought either to avoid them altogether, or in some sort to compensate for them. Pietro della Francesca was the first to revive the practice of the Greeks, who contrived to make geometry conducive to the improvement of painting. He is eulogized by Pascoli, and the best authors, as the father of perspective. This we must understand with reference to painting in general; for in certain branches of perspective he seems to have been forestalled by others. Filippo Brunelleschi, a Florentine, and born a good many years before the former, was the first to discover the way to bring it to perfection in the representation of buildings. In inlaid work he was afterwards imitated by Benedetto da Majano, in painting by Masaccio, both of whom learned perspective from him. About the same time, under the guidance of the celebrated mathematician Giovanni Manetti, Paolo Uccello applied himself diligently to the same pursuit, or rather so entirely devoted himself to it, that, in labouring to attain to eminence in that, he never got beyond mediocrity in the other

branches of the profession. In all his studies this was the object of his aim; while often he would say to himself, "How charming a thing is perspective!"—so true it is that novelty is one main source of the delightful. Not a single work did he execute, that did not throw some new light on this department of art; whether that work consisted of edifices and colonnades, which, within a small compass, sometimes convey the idea of a large space; or of figures foreshortened with a degree of skill unknown to the followers of Giotto. In the cloister of S. Maria Novella, there are certain historical pieces relative to Adam and Noah, which evince a good deal of the novel and fanciful in this branch of painting: there is also a landscape with trees and animals so well executed, that he may be styled the Bassan of early art. He was particularly fond of keeping birds in his house, and of making drawings from them, a circumstance from which he obtained the epithet Uccello. In the cathedral there is a portrait of Giovanni Aguto—John Hawkwood—on horseback, executed by Paolo in *terra verde*, and in gigantic proportions. This was perhaps the first time that painting attempted a good deal, without having appeared to attempt too much.

Masolino da Panicale took to cultivating the art of *chiaroscuro*. I suspect that he derived no little advantage from having long devoted his time to modelling and sculpture—a practice which, beyond all conception, facilitates the science of relief. Ghiberti, who at that period had none to equal him in design, composition, and the art of giving animation to his figures, had been his master in this branch of the profession. Colouring, which was all he now wanted to become a painter, he acquired under Starnina, the most eminent colourist of his day. Thus combining in his own person the distinguishing excellences of two different schools, he struck out that new style which, though not wholly exempt from dryness, nor perfected in every part, was yet grand, harmonious, and luminous, beyond all former

example. St. Peter's chapel at the Carmine is the great remaining monument of this master. Besides the Evangelists, he there depicted certain pieces from the life of St. Peter—his Call to be an Apostle—the Tempest—his Denial of Christ—the Miracle performed at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple—and his Preaching. Being overtaken by death, a few other pieces in this chapel, as, the Tribute paid to Cæsar—the Baptizing of the Multitude—the Healing of the Sick—were executed some years afterwards by his scholar Maso di S. Giovanni, a youth who was wholly engrossed by the thoughts of his profession, and who, from living, as the saying is, from hand to mouth, was nicknamed Masaccio.

Masaccio is a genius who forms an epoch in painting; and Mengs assigns him the first place among those who paved the way for the modern style. Vasari says, "that the works which had been executed previous to his time might be said to be painted, while his were so true to nature, that they might actually be said to be alive;" and again, in another place, "that no other master of that period made such near approaches to the moderns as he." The groundwork of his style he had formed upon the works of Ghiberti and Donatello; from Brunelleschi he had acquired a knowledge of perspective, and, having visited Rome, must necessarily have profited by studying the remains of ancient sculpture. Masaccio's works at the Carmine exhibit, in the attitudes and foreshortenings of the figures, a truth and variety which Paolo Uccello in vain endeavoured to attain. The air of the heads, as Mengs observes, is somewhat after the manner of Raphael; and the expression so appropriate, that the mind seems no less forcibly delineated than the body. The parts of the body exposed to view display at once his judgment and his knowledge of anatomy. That figure, in his Baptism of St. Peter, which looks as if shivering with cold, and on which so many encomiums have been lavished, forms a sort of epoch in the art. The drapery, divested of all littleness of manner,

presents a few natural folds; the colouring is true to nature, judiciously varied, delicate, and in the highest degree harmonious; the relief is of the boldest character. This chapel was not completely finished by Masaccio himself, who dying in the year 1443, and not without some suspicion of having been poisoned, left it still deficient in several historical pieces, which, many years afterwards, were supplied by the younger Lippi. It became subsequently the school of all the more distinguished Florentines whom we shall have to notice in this and the succeeding epoch; as well as of Pietro Perugino, and Raphael himself: and it is not a little singular, that for the space of many years, and in a city fruitful in men of genius ever intent on promoting the art, no one, in following Masaccio's steps, should have attained to that distinction which he managed to acquire without having imitated any one. The different galleries possess but very few of Masaccio's works. In that of the Pitti, there is one held in high estimation—the portrait of a young man, that looks as if it were alive.

Beato Giovanni Angelico.—After Masaccio, two friars distinguished themselves in the Florentine school. The first of these, who belonged to the Dominican order, was named Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, or Il Beato Giovanni Angelico. His first employment was that of illuminating books, an art in which he was initiated by an elder brother, who was both a painter and an adept at such illuminations. He is said to have studied the works in Masaccio's chapel, but considering the difference of their ages, we can hardly admit this to have been the case. His style, too, betrays a different origin. In the works of the friar we invariably meet with some vestiges of Giotto's manner, both in the attitudes of the figures, and the attempts to atone for the deficiencies of art—to say nothing of the drapery, which he frequently makes to fall down in long plaits, or of that exquisite finish in the minutest particulars, which is peculiar to those who employed themselves on illuminations. Indeed, he departs but

little from the style of illuminators in the greater part of his works, which consist of sacred pieces relative to our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, in cabinet pictures by no means rare at Florence. His distinguishing merit is the beauty with which he invests the heads of his Saints and Angels—the veritable Guido of the age, even as regards the sweetness of his colours, which, though merely water-colours, he contrived to blend together with an almost perfect harmony. He was also reckoned one of the best fresco painters of his day; and was employed to decorate, not only the cathedral of Orvieto, but the palace of the Vatican itself, where he painted one of the chapels, a work on which authors have bestowed the highest encomiums.

Benozzo Gozzoli, a disciple of Fra Giovanni's, and one who also imitated Masaccio, raised himself above the greater part of his contemporaries. In some few respects he even surpassed his model; as in the great size of his edifices, the sweetness of his landscapes, and the attractions of a very lively, fascinating, and romantic imagination. In the Riccardi palace, once the Grand Duke's residence, there is a chapel in good preservation, in which he executed a Glory, a Nativity, and an Epiphany. He there wrought with a profusion of gold on the drapery, unexampled perhaps in fresco painting; and with a fidelity of representation, that, as regards the portraits, the garments, the trappings of the horses, and the most minute particulars, reflects an exact image of the times in which he lived. He lived to a good old age, and died at Pisa, where, indeed, his merit may be best appreciated, his works there being preferable to those at Florence both for composition and design, as well as for the more sparing use of gold. The picture of St. Thomas Aquinas, at the cathedral, has been much extolled by Vasari and Richardson; but what most contributes to his celebrity is the number of scriptural pieces with which he decorated one entire wing of the Campo Santo—"a most stupendous performance," says Vasari, "and enough to appal a whole legion of painters;"

a work which he completed in the short space of two years. It was here that he displayed a talent for composition, an adherence to nature, a variety in the countenances and attitudes, a juiciness and liveliness of colouring—glittering with ultramarine—and a faithfulness in the delineation of the passions, that entitled him to the foremost rank after Masaccio. I can hardly believe that he executed the whole without assistance. In the *Noah Inebriated, the Tower of Babel,* and certain other pieces, we discern an attempt at the surprising, which we vainly look for in others; where we sometimes meet with figures that betray dryness and mannerism—defects which I should rather be for attributing to some coadjutor than to himself. Time itself, as if conscious of his merit, has respected this work more than any other in the Campo Santo.

Fra Filippo Lippi.—The other friar, one who differed widely from Beato Giovanni, was Fra Filippo Lippi, a Carmelite, the scholar, not of Masaccio himself, as Vasari would have it, but of his works. By dint of assiduity in copying them, he might sometimes have passed for another Masaccio, especially in small historical pieces. Of these, some of the choicest are in the sacristy of the church of S. Spirito. In the same church too, as well as in that of St. Ambrose, and other places, may be seen pictures of his representing the Virgin attended by companies of angels, remarkable for the openness and beauty of the countenances, and distinguished by a colouring and a gracefulness peculiarly his own. He delighted in a sort of drapery that depended like the serried folds of a surplice, and affected the brighter colours; which, however, he took care to modify and subdue by a purplish tint not often met with in others. In his large fresco paintings in the parish church of Prato he has introduced figures larger than life; and the two pieces which he there executed on the subject of St. Stephen and the Baptist, were, in the opinion of Vasari, his master-pieces. His abandonment of the monastic life—his slavery in Barbary—his paint-

ings, executed at Naples, Padua, and other places—his death, brought on by poison administered by the relatives of a young woman who had borne him a natural child, also named Filippo Lippi—may all be found noticed by Vasari. He died at Spoleto, where he had just completed his large picture in the cathedral.

About the same time, Florence produced other artists possessed of some merit, though there eclipsed by men of greater name. Among them may be reckoned one Berto Linajuolo—and Alessio Baldovinetti, a noble painter, and one who took incredible pains, a good worker in mosaic also, and the master of Ghirlandaio. To these I add Verrocchio, a celebrated sculptor, a clever designer, and a painter too, though rather for amusement than by profession. While he was employed on a baptism of Christ at S. Salvi, Da Vinci, then a mere youth and one of his scholars, happened to execute an angel in a style superior to that of his master, who, chagrined at being thus outdone by a boy, renounced the pencil for ever.

Another scholar of Masaccio's, as Baldinucci imagines, or more properly another imitator of his, though rather in point of attitude, relief, and disposition of the drapery, than in grace and colouring, was Andrea del Castagno, a name infamous in story. He flourished at the time when the secret of painting in oil having been discovered by John Van Eych, or John of Bruges—a discovery made about the year 1410*—that secret began to be

* Some method of the kind appears to have been known previous to his time, but of too imperfect and tedious a nature to be adopted in historical paintings. "By the old method," says Lanzi, "it was impossible to lay a fresh colour on the picture till the former one had been previously dried in the sun, a method which *demanded infinite patience;* to which I may add, that the colours could never be perfectly blended together. These disadvantages did not escape Van Eych; and he then lamented them the more, when, as Vasari informs us, having placed one of his pictures in the sun for the purpose of drying it the quicker, the panel was cracked by the intensity of the heat. It was then that Van Eych bethought himself of de-

diffused throughout Italy, not only by report, but also by some specimens of the advantages attending such a method; and our fellow-countrymen, struck with wonder at the harmony, the softness, and vivacity which the colouring derived from the discovery, were anxious to become masters of it. With this view, one Antonello da Messina, who had originally studied at Rome, having visited Flanders, learnt the secret, according to Vasari's account, from the inventor himself; and having from thence repaired to Venice, communicated it to an acquaintance of his, named Domenico. Domenico, after having produced no inconsiderable number of works in his native place as well as at Loreto and other parts of the Ecclesiastical State, betook himself to Florence. There, becoming an object of admiration to others, and therefore of envy to Castagno, the latter, under the mask of friendship, induced him to communicate the secret to him; for which he was rewarded with an untimely end, Andrea having treacherously murdered him, in order that he himself might be without a rival in the art. The assassin succeeded but too well in concealing his crime; and while, during the investigations which ensued, several innocent persons incurred suspicion, he always contrived to elude it: at last, on his death-bed, he voluntarily acknowledged his own guilt and the innocence of others. He is reckoned among the foremost of his time in point of vivacity, design, and perspective, and had also the merit of improving the art of foreshortening.

The painters that now follow approach the very confines of the golden age of art, of which some of their works betray ma-

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vising a method of using oil colours of such a sort that, without being exposed to the sun, they might dry of themselves: 'and, by the addition of certain other ingredients of his, he contrived to compose a varnish, which, when dry, is proof against water, renders the colours more luminous and brilliant, and contributes amazingly to their amalgamation:' such are Vasari's words."

nifest indications, notwithstanding the dryness of their design, and the generally imperfect blending of their colours; of which the vehicle was usually water, very rarely oil. The painters in question flourished in the days of Sixtus IV., who, having erected the chapel that now goes by his name, invited them from Tuscany. These were Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Rosselli, Luca da Cortona, and Don Bartolommeo d'Arezzo. Manni, who professedly wrote the lives of some of these artists, leads us to infer that this work was executed about the year 1474. It was designed to give, on one side of the chapel, a representation of some passages from the life of Moses, on the other from the life of Christ: thus the Old Law was to be confronted by the New—the shadow, by the light—the type, by the person typified. The pontiff was no great connoisseur in what relates to the fine arts; but he was very ambitious of that sort of lustre which they shed over the works and the names of princes. To superintend the work he made choice of Sandro Filipepi, from his first master, (who happened to be a goldsmith), nicknamed Botticelli, and a scholar of Fra Filippo's—an artist of some note in his day, and still known in the different galleries by a number of pictures containing small figures, which would sometimes hardly be distinguishable from those of Andrea Mantegna, did they but exhibit a little more beauty in the heads. An altar-piece or two of his still exists, but none of them worthy to be compared with his performances in the Sistine Chapel. In that chapel we can hardly recognise the Sandro of Florence. The Temptation of Christ, embellished as it is with a magnificent temple, containing crowds of votaries in the vestibule; the Moses, aiding the daughters of Jethro against the Midianitish shepherds, a work exhibiting equal richness and beauty in the drapery, and novelty in the colouring; together with other subjects, treated with the like vigour and originality, place him before us in a far more favourable light than any of his other works.

History is silent as to whether Filippino Lippi, the son, as

we have already observed, of Fra Filippo, was Botticelli's coadjutor in this work. Vasari thinks he was the first to embellish modern painting by the introduction of grotesques, trophies, pieces of armour, vases, edifices, and vestments borrowed from the antique—an honour to which I cannot admit him to be entitled, Squarcione having long before established his claim to it. True, indeed, it is, that in ornaments of this sort, as well as in landscapes and the most minute particulars, he evinces merit of no ordinary kind. He was invited to Rome to paint a chapel in the church of the Minerva, where there is an Assumption of his, as well as some pieces from the life of St. Thomas Aquinas. In this chapel he improved upon his heads, though he was still surpassed in that respect by his scholar, Raffaellino del Garbo, who painted some companies of angels on the ceiling, that might alone suffice to establish his claim to the epithet by which he is distinguished.

Ghirlandaio. The second whom I mentioned as employed upon the Sistine Chapel is Domenico Corradi, from his father's calling surnamed Il Ghirlandaio, eminent both as a painter and a worker in mosaic, and one who even contributed to the improvement of those arts. During the competition thus going on between rival artists in the Sistine Chapel, he represented there the Resurrection of Christ, which has perished; and the Call of St. Peter and St. Andrew, which are still in being. This is that Ghirlandaio, in whose school, or on whose principles, not only Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, his son, but Bonarruoti himself, and the more distinguished masters of the succeeding era, formed their style—a man equally remarkable for the correctness of his contours, the beauty of his proportions, the fertility of his fancy, and his uncommon diligence and facility of execution—the first among the Florentines, who, by the help of perspective, attained to skilfulness of grouping, and depth of composition. He was one of the foremost, too, to divest the drapery of those deep gilt borders, which the old masters had

introduced; who, as if conscious of their inability to make their figures beautiful, strove at least to make them gaudy. Even of his pictures, however, there exist a few that are partially illuminated with gold; as an Epiphany, for example, in the church of the Innocents, at Florence. It is a noble performance, as is also the chapel painted by him in the church of S. Trinità, exhibiting some of the actions of St. Francis; and a Nativity, in the sacristy of the same church. There is also a very celebrated work of his in the choir of S. Maria Novella, where, on the one hand, he represented some pieces relative to John the Baptist, on the other, relative to the Virgin, together with the picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, on which Vasari has lavished so many encomiums. We there meet with a multitude of portraits of literary men and illustrious citizens; indeed, almost every head is a portrait: these, however, he either contrived to invest with an air of dignity, or else must have selected only those who inherited it from nature. The hands and feet of his figures do not correspond with the beauty of the other parts: for these last finishing strokes painting is indebted to Andrea del Sarto, in whose works we seem to recognise Ghirlandaio's manner ennobled and perfected. This master must not be confounded with his scholars, as is the case in many collections, where the Holy Families, executed by his brothers or his pupils, are made to pass for his: these pictures, however, are very far from meriting the encomiums we have justly bestowed on Ghirlandaio's.

Cosimo Roselli. In the works carried on at the Sistine Chapel, Vasari bestows less commendation on this painter than on any of his coadjutors. Unable to equal his rivals in point of design, he overloaded his pictures with glaring colours and gilt fringes; a practice which, though condemned by the improving taste of the times, yet pleased the pope, who commended and rewarded him more than any of his competitors. Perhaps his best performance in the Sistine is the Christ delivering his Sermon on the Mount; of which the landscape is said to have

been executed by Pier di Cosimo, another painter, who was more to be commended for colouring than for design; as is evident from a picture of his at the church of the Innocents, as well as from his Perseus in the Ducal Gallery. Both these artists, however, are well known in history: the former as the master of Baccio della Porta; the latter, of Andrea del Sarto.

No other native of Florence was employed on the decorations of the Sistine. Piero and Antonio Pollajuoli, however, who were at once sculptors and painters, went thither not long afterwards, and there executed the bronze monument of Sixtus IV. Some works of theirs are still to be seen at S. Miniato, near Florence. In these works we discover vestiges of Castagno's manner—whose scholar Pietro was—in the austerity of the countenances, and the strength and juiciness of the colouring, which is in oils. Antonio, Pietro's scholar, turned out an excellent painter, considering the period; in the chapel of the Pucci family, at the Servi, there is a martyrdom of St. Sebastian by him—one of the very best altar-pieces of the fourteenth century I have ever beheld. The colouring, indeed, is not of first-rate merit, but the composition excels that of the times in which he lived; while the design, in those parts of the human figure exposed to view, shews how much attention he had paid to anatomy—the first, perhaps, among the Italian painters, who, by laying bare the muscles of the human frame, acquired an accurate knowledge of their play and situation.

Luca Signorelli and *Don Bartolommeo della Gatta*, the two that now follow, were invited from the Florentine territory to assist in the decorations of the Sistine Chapel. Luca Signorelli, a native of Cortona, and a scholar of Piero della Francesca, was a spirited and expressive painter; one of the first among those of Tuscany who displayed a correct knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame, though he could not altogether divest it of stiffness. The cathedral of Orvieto affords a proof of this; with that crowd of naked figures, whose attitudes even Michael

Angelo did not disdain to imitate. Although in the greater part of his works we meet not with much elegance of form, nor sufficient blending of the tints, yet in certain others, especially the Communion of the Apostles, painted for the church of the Jesuits in his native city, we find a degree of grace and beauty, and a style of colouring, approaching that of the moderns. In the Sistine Chapel he gave a representation of Moses' Journey with Sefora, and the Promulgation of the Old Law—pieces abounding with figures, and these better grouped than is usual with the confused compositions of the age. Among the crowd of competitors at the Sistine, Vasari and Taja have assigned the foremost place to him; to me, he seems, at any rate, to have equalled the best of them, and to have acquitted himself better than on any other occasion.

Don Bartolommeo della Gatta executed nothing at the Sistine from designs of his own: he merely acted as an assistant to Signorelli and Pietro Perugino. He had been educated at Florence, in the monastery of the Angeli, but rather as an illuminator of books than as a painter. According to Vasari's account, Don Bartolommeo's precepts, or, more properly speaking, his works, were of no little benefit to Vante, or, according to his own manner of writing his name, Attavente, a native of Florence, celebrated for his illuminations.

I close the catalogue of the earlier Tuscan artists with the name of an illustrious Lucchese, Paolo Zacchia, surnamed the elder, who was probably initiated in the art at Florence, though he did not always conform to the manner of the older masters of that school, either in design, which constituted his *forte*, or in his sharply defined contours, which constituted his principal defect. He is styled the elder Zacchia to distinguish him from another of the same name, who displayed greater softness of contour, and greater strength of colouring, but who, in design and every other department of the art, was his inferior.

Such, then, was the state of art in Tuscany towards the commencement of the sixteenth century. Much had been accomplished; for painters had now succeeded in imitating nature, especially in the heads, to which they contrived to impart a degree of life and vivacity, which excites our astonishment even at the present day. When we contemplate the figures and the heads of that period, they seem as if they were actually looking at, and about to enter into conversation with, the spectator. Even yet, however, it remained to give ideal beauty to the figure, fulness to the design, and harmony to the colouring; as well as a greater degree of correctness to the aerial perspective, greater variety to the composition, and greater freedom to the pencil, which most artists still handled with timidity. In Florence, as well as elsewhere, every thing conspired to promote improvement. A taste for splendid structures had now sprung up among us. Many of the finest churches of Italy, many of the public and ducal palaces which still exist at Milan, Mantua, Venice, Urbino, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ferrara, were erected about this time; to say nothing of various other structures at Rome and Florence, where magnificence and elegance seemed to vie with each other. These, of course, required ornamenting, and hence that noble emulation among rival artists—that grand ferment of ideas, which invariably accelerates the progress of art. The study of poetry, so nearly allied to that of painting, went on increasing to such a degree, as might well have entitled that age to the epithet *golden*—an epithet which it certainly did not merit on the score of more severe studies. The design of those masters, though somewhat dry, being yet chaste and correct, supplied excellent lessons for the instruction of the succeeding age. It is a very just observation, that it is easier for the scholar to impart a certain fulness to the meagre outline of his model, than to divest a heavy contour of its redundance. Hence some professors have been led to infer, that it would be far more judicious to habituate beginners to the precision characteristic of the fifteenth cen-

tury, rather than the exuberance introduced in after times. Such a concurrence of favourable circumstances produced the happiest era that distinguishes the annals of painting. It was then that the different Italian schools, which, owing to mutual imitation, had hitherto evinced a strong mutual resemblance, having at length arrived at maturity, began each of them to display a distinct character—a character properly its own.

Origin and Progress of Engraving on Copper and Wood.

As in printing, the use of wooden types led to the adoption of metal ones, so did the art of engraving on wood pave the way for that of engraving on copper. The origin of engraving on wood is involved in great obscurity. French and German writers have warmly asserted the claims of their respective countries to the invention, both of them referring it to playing-cards, which the former pretend to have been invented in the time of Charles V., while the latter maintain that they were in use in Germany at a much earlier period, namely, previous to the year 1300*. The first to combat these opinions was Papillon, in his "Treatise on Engraving on Wood," where he vindicates the claim of Italy to the discovery, affirming that the oldest specimens were executed at Ravenna about the year 1285. His account of the matter is given in the Preface to the fifth volume of the Sienese edition of Vasari's work; but it is interspersed with matters so hard to be credited, that I deem it best to take no further notice of it. Tiraboschi has advocated the cause of Italy in a much more plausible manner. On the subject of playing-cards he adduces a manuscript of one Sandro, son of

* See Heineken's "*Idée Générale d'une Collection*," &c. p. 239, &c.

Pipozzo di Sandro, intitled, *Trattato del Governo della Famiglia*, " Treatise on the Management of a Family." It was written in the year 1299, and has been quoted by the authors of the Cruscan Dictionary, who, among other passages, cite the following:—" If he shall play for money, or thus, or at cards, you shall provide them for him," &c.—*se giucherà di denàro, o così, o alle carte, gli apparecchierai*, &c. Playing-cards, therefore, were known among us earlier than any where else; and if the invention of engraving on wood is to be dated from them, we have then good reason to lay claim to it. But in all probability it cannot be dated so far back: the oldest playing-cards must have been wrought with the pen, and coloured by illuminators; a practice originally adopted in France, and not wholly laid aside in Italy in the days of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. The first indication we have of stamped playing-cards is in a public decree made at Venice in 1441, where it is said, that " the art and trade of preparing cards and stamped figures carried on at Venice," had declined, " in consequence of the great quantity of playing-cards and stamped coloured figures" imported from other places; and it is there decreed that the importation of them should for the future be prohibited. Zanetti, to whom we are indebted for this piece of information, observes, that they must have been in use long before the year 1441; for we find that the art was at one time in a flourishing condition, that it subsequently declined, and finally revived again, owing to the protection afforded it by the government. Such vicissitudes, which suppose a long course of years, carry us back at least to the commencement of the fifteenth century. To this epoch it would seem we must refer those old playing-cards, now in the collection of the Marquis Girolamo Durazzo. The figures are there represented on a gold ground: they consist of three kings, two queens, two knaves, one knight, each of which holds either a staff, a sword, or a piece of money. I could discover no vestige of suits, either because they were not then in use, or more probably because the

small number of cards that have come down to us are insufficient to give a correct idea of the entire game.

Meanwhile, the art of printing being introduced into Italy, the practice of embellishing books with woodcuts was also introduced. The Germans had already set the example of executing woodcuts of sacred subjects. The same example they set in the initials of certain words in the infancy of printing; and this invention was carried still further at Rome, in a book published in 1467, and at Verona in another published in 1472. The first contains Cardinal Turrecremata's meditations with figures engraved in wood, and then coloured; the second is intitled, *Roberti Valturii Opus de Re Militari*, and is embellished with a number of figures, as well as with representations of warlike engines, fortifications, and assaults. After this beginning, engraving on wood went on constantly improving, and was cultivated by men of the greatest genius; in Germany, for instance, by Albert Durer; in Italy, by Mecherino of Siena, Domenico delle Greche, Domenico Campagnola, and others, down to the time of Ugo da Carpi.

If, in matters of discovery, it is the property of the human mind to be led on progressively from the easier to the more difficult, we might infer that engraving on wood paved the way for engraving on copper; and perhaps, in some places, so it did. Vasari, however, refers its origin to *niello* work—a sort of engraved inlay—an art of very ancient date, much in vogue during the fifteenth century, especially at Florence, but one which went into disuse in the following, in spite of Cellini's efforts to maintain it. It was employed not only on silver articles of a sacred character, such as chalices, missals and other religious books, reliquaries, *paci;* but on those of a secular character also, as the pommels of swords, the *(posate)* services of the table, clasps, and other feminine ornaments. It was also much employed on certain ebony escrutoires, which were here and there ornamented with little silver statues and little metal plates inlaid with figures,

historical pieces, and flowers. The plan pursued was this: the proposed story, portrait, or flower, was cut with the burin on the silver, and the cavity thus made was then filled up with a mixture of silver and lead, which from its dark appearance was by the ancients styled *nigellum*, whence our countrymen have coined the shorter word *niello:* thus the mixture being incorporated with the silver, the dark hue of the one became contrasted with the brightness of the other, and the whole work assumed the character of a chiaroscuro in silver. Many were there who distinguished themselves by this species of inlay; and, among others, the three Florentines who wrought in competition with each other at S. Giovanni—Matteo Dei, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and Maso Finiguerra, whose *paci* we find so highly extolled for the astonishing delicacy of the engraving.

From Maso, according to Vasari, must we date "the origin of engraving on copper;" an art, which, to render my account of it the more perspicuous, I shall consider as distinguished by three several stages of advancement; the first of which I am now about to enter upon. It was Finiguerra's practice not to fill in with *niello* the cavities or cuts made in the silver plate, till he had first taken the precaution of proving his works. "He used to take an impression of them on earth, and then covering it over with liquefied sulphur, another impression resulted which was filled in with lamp-black; so that, being oiled over, it had the same appearance as the silver plate. The same operation he performed also with moistened paper, using the same colouring matter, pressing it with a round but very smooth roller, which gave the impressions not only the appearance of being stamped, but made them look as if designed with the pen*." So says Vasari in his introduction to the Life of Mar-

* Vasari, whose brevity has caused him to be but little understood by some, contents himself with merely hinting at the different steps of Maso's process, which were as follows. Having engraved the plate, previous to

cantonio. He adds, that in this respect Maso was followed by Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith; after whom he mentions Botticelli, and might also have mentioned Pollaiuolo: he concludes, at length, that the invention passed from thence to Rome, where it was communicated to Mantegna, and into Flanders, where it was communicated to Martino, styled De Clef. Of the first kind of proofs taken by Finiguerra the greater number have perished.

With regard to Finiguerra's paper proofs, it is not known for certainty that a single specimen now remains, save that of the Assumption which the Abbé Zani recognised in the national collection at Paris and published in 1803; to which I may add the Epiphany—less elevated in point of style, but more carefully finished—which I met with in the possession of the Senator Martelli, and of which I am aware there is a duplicate in the possession of his Excellency Seratti. In the Durazzo collection may be seen proofs taken by various *argentieri*—all of them unknown—for the discovery of which we are indebted to Antonio Armanno.

Many of these proofs came from the old Gaddi collection at Florence; and are the workmanship of artists inferior to Finiguerra, with the exception of two specimens that would do him no discredit. To these were subsequently added not a few others of the different schools of Italy. Their origin may some-

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filling in the inlay he took an impression of it on very fine earth; and as the engraving itself was erect and sunken, the earthen proof was inverted and in relief. This was covered with liquefied sulphur, and a second proof taken, which of course would be erect, and what in the former was in relief would here be sunken. The sulphur impression was then covered with lamp-black, so that the sunken parts, which were to form the shadow, might be filled up with it; while next, the portion of the sulphur-ground, meant to represent the lighter parts, was gradually divested of it: such is the method still pursued in engraving on copper. The last step was to give it a coating of oil, in order to impart to the sulphur cast the lucid appearance of silver. (Lanzi).

times be ascertained from the design; though with still greater certainty from the inscriptions and other less equivocal marks. For example, on a Nativity we meet with the following inscription in words which run from right to left—*Dominus Philippus Stancharius fieri fecit;* where the name of the family, which is mentioned, added to other circumstances, points to Bologna as the place of its execution. There is also a little print representing a female in the act of turning towards a cat, and on it is this inscription, *Va in la Caneva;* while on another may be seen the following, *Mantengave Dio;* both of them Lombard or Venetian, so far as we can judge from the dialect. From all which we may infer, that those expressions of Vasari's, in which he ascribes to Finiguerra the practice of proving his works previous to filling in the *niello*, cannot be confined to him alone or to his school.

Paper proofs, then, taken by *niellatori*, are to be met with throughout the whole of Italy, and may be recognised more particularly by the position of the letters, which being engraved on the originals from left to right, come out on the proof, like Oriental characters, from right to left: in the same manner, too, the rest of the impression is inverted; for instance, a Saint, whose dignity of character would entitle him to a place on the right, is seen standing on the left, while, in like manner, all the other actors in the piece are seen writing, playing, or attitudinizing with the left hand.

From these beginnings, as it appears to me, engravers passed on, in some places earlier, in others later, to what I denominate the second stage of the art. On perceiving the fine effect of those proofs, they conceived the idea of executing works in the same minute and delicate style, and of employing them in the same way as they had hitherto employed engravings on wood. Thus did the goldsmith's shop become the cradle of copper-plate engraving, and the first attempts of the kind were made on silver, on pewter, or, as Heineken expresses it, " on a composi-

tion softer than copper." He observes, (and it is worth noticing), that the *Italians* pursued this plan before they engraved on copper. But whatever was the material employed by those goldsmiths of the olden time, it was an easy matter for them to substitute the shadow of the cavity or cut itself, for the shadow produced by the *niello*, and to make the engraving inverted, in order that the proof might come out erect. From that time the art went on gradually improving. As a roller or an imperfect press was then employed, the better to succeed in the impression, they inclosed the stone in a wooden frame by means of four small nails, to prevent it from slipping; on that they placed the paper, and on the latter a wetted linen cloth, which was afterwards pressed down with force: whence, in prints that are really of first-rate antiquity, we may sometimes discern the marks of the cloth on the back: felt, which leaves no mark, was afterwards substituted. Various tints were tried, but all of them gave place to that azure hue which predominates in the greater part of the older engravings. In this manner were executed about that time the fifty cards, commonly called Mantegna's game. Who the author was is a mystery. The design is very like Mantegna's and that of the Paduan school; though the engraving itself is not altogether in the style of Andrea, nor of any other known master of that age.

To pass from cards to books: the first attempts to decorate them with engravings on metal are well known. The most celebrated are the *Monte Santo di Dio*, and the *Commedia of Dante*, published at Florence, and the two editions of Ptolemy's Geography, the one published at Bologna, the other at Rome; to which we may add Berlinghieri's Geography, edited at Florence; all three with illustrations. The authors of these engravings are not exactly known; save that, on consulting Vasari, it would seem that the chief merit of them is due to Botticelli. He both executed illustrations of the "Inferno, and engraved them;" and the two historical pieces, of which Gio. de Lamagna

has given engravings in his Dante, have so much of Sandro's design and composition, that we cannot entertain a doubt of their being his.

The last stage of copper-plate engraving I denominate that in which, after the invention of the press and the discovery of printing-ink, the art of which I am treating began to verge towards perfection. It is no easy task, so far as Italy is concerned, to fix an epoch from which to date this improved condition of the art. The very artists who had made use of the roller, lived, in some instances, to avail themselves of the press; as Nicoletto da Modena, Giovanni Antonio of Brescia, and Mantegna, of whose engravings, we find, as it were, two editions, the one struck off with the roller and betraying very weak tints, the other with the press and exhibiting good ink. It was then that engravers, fearful that others might lay claim to their performances, began to affix their names to their works more regularly, at first in initials, and afterwards at full length. The Germans were the first to set the example of this. They were imitated by those of our countrymen already noticed; as well as by one who surpassed all his predecessors—Marcantonio Raimondi, or Marcantonio Francia. This person was a native of Bologna; and was initiated by Francesco Francia in the art of inlaying in *niello*, in which he greatly distinguished himself. Proceeding next to engraving on copper, he commenced by graving some of his master's works. At first he imitated Mantegna, then Albert Durer, and subsequently improved himself in design under Raphael. This latter also afforded him still further assistance, and even gave up to him his colour-grinder, Baviera, to superintend the press; so that Marcantonio, applying himself solely to engraving, was enabled to publish that multiplicity of specimens from Raphael's designs which we now meet with in different collections. He did the same with regard to a good many old works, and no few modern ones also, such as those of Bonarruoti, Giulio Romano, and Bandinelli; nor is the number of those small of which he was at once

the inventor and the engraver. Two of his scholars, Agostino of Venice, and Marco of Ravenna, both acted as his assistants, and became his successors in engraving Raphael's works; so that Vasari might not unfairly say, in his life of Marcantonio, that "Agostino and Marco between them engraved nearly all the works that were ever designed or painted by Raphael." Thus, in Raphael's studio, by means of Marcantonio and his scholars, did engraving reach the highest pitch of excellence within but a few years from the time of its invention. Since that period no one has yet started up, whose mode of treating it displays either a more thorough knowledge of design, or greater precision of contour. In certain other niceties, it received considerable improvement from Parmigianino, who made use of aqua-fortis; as well as from Agostino Carracci, and various foreigners, such as Edelink, Masson, Audran, and Drevet, during the last century; and, during this present eighteenth century, from a considerable number of Italians and foreigners, whom this is no fit occasion to notice more particularly.

It is, however, a fit occasion to take a brief view of that controverted point, whether it is to Germany or to Italy that we are indebted for the invention of copper-plate engraving; and if to Italy, whether to Florence or to some other place. That in this branch of art we may distinguish three successive grades or stages of improvement, seems to me to be satisfactorily proved by what has already been advanced. By attending to this distinction, we may the better determine what share of the merit is due to each particular country. Vasari, and, with him, Cellini and most others, have ascribed the origin of the art to Florence and to Finiguerra. Doubts, however, were subsequently raised; and Bottari himself, an author of such recent date, and a Florentine into the bargain, treats it as a question "involved in uncertainty." It was about the year 1452, that Antonio Pollaiuolo, then a young man, as Vasari observes in his life, wrought in competition with Maso in the church of S. Giovanni: and as,

even at that period, Maso's "name was in high repute," we cannot but conclude that he was already no mean proficient in the art. We may suppose, therefore, with Gaburri and Tiraboschi, that, as he had taken proofs "of every one of his engravings on silver," he must have pursued this plan as early as 1440, and probably a few years earlier: here then we have the origin of copper-plate engraving deduced with sufficient historic evidence from Florence. In no other country does either history, or any existing monument of the art, or any arguments that have been adduced, lead us back to a period equally remote. Let us, for a proof of this fact, first turn to Germany.

Germany possesses no accounts on the subject which carry us back to so remote a period. In Germany, Meerman and Heineken can discover no engraver of older date than Martino Schön, who died in 1486. Not long after him we meet with Israel Meckeln, Van Bockold, Albert Durer's master Michael Wolgemuth, and not a few others, who come down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Some, however, will have it, that copper-plate engraving was known in Germany previous to these artists; because we meet with prints by unknown artists "which have the appearance" of greater antiquity. Meerman notices one of them having the initials C. E. and bearing the date 1465; Heineken also mentions two others, dated 1466; the first marked $f \not\vdash s$, the second b x s, ciphers of unknown artists. He says he has never met with engravings of an older date having the name inscribed; and observes, that their style is similar to that of Schön, though more uncouth, whence he suspects that their authors were the masters of the latter. But whoever may have been Schön's master, Heineken concludes that that master must have been of an earlier date than Schön himself by at least ten years; and thus we are carried back to the year 1450, as the period at which the art of engraving must have been practised in Germany. And because this seemed to him too little, he afterwards adds, that "he had endeavoured to

carry back the date of that invention" at least to about the year 1440.

The cause is ably pleaded, but it is not yet gained. Let us oppose argument to argument. The Italians have history on their side—the Germans find it adverse to their claims. The former, without any difficulty, go back to the year 1440, and even still further; the latter, by dint of mere conjecture, have been enabled to get back to 1450, and *have only attempted* to anticipate that date by a period of about ten years. The former date from Maso, not from Maso's master; the latter, not from Schön himself, but from his masters: which privilege must either be denied to the Italians, and then the two cases are no longer on an equal footing; or else must be accorded to them also, and then they, too, will be able to antedate the origin of engraving on copper in Italy by the same space of ten years. To corroborate this testimony of history in their favour, the Italians bring a variety of authentic monuments, such as proofs of the *niello* inlay, engravings of the earliest date, and specimens of the gradual progress of the art from its infancy to its maturity: the Germans, to compensate the want of historical records, have recourse to monuments, some unquestionably spurious, some doubtful, and easily proved to be inconclusive.

It remains for us to examine whether, putting Germany out of the question, any part of Italy may have anticipated Finiguerra in the invention of which we are treating. There have been some, who, in opposition to his claim, have brought forward impressions made by metal seals, which are to be found on Italian records, even from the earliest times. This only proves that this invention, like various others, had for several ages been on the point of being discovered; but it does not prove that the origin of the invention is to be attributed to the use of seals. Certain rude first principles, antecedent to all records, which lay for so many ages without being improved upon, and had nothing to do with the inventions of the moderns, ought not to have a

place in the history of those inventions; nor must the history of engraving be traced to any other source than the silversmith's shop, where engraving both originated and came to maturity. Hence we have only to compare those *proofs* of their performances which have come down to us, and examine whether such proofs were taken any where else before the time of Finiguerra. Where we are unable to ascertain from other sources the actual date, we have but two clues, if I may so say, to guide us in the solution of this problem—the written character and the design. The character of the letters, in all those proofs that have come under my observation, has nothing whatever about it of what is commonly called the Gothic; it is rounded like the Roman character; this, therefore, agreeably to the observation made at page xvii, carries us no farther back than 1440. The design is of a more questionable nature. In the Durazzo collection, I met with some *niello* proofs more rudely designed than Maso's works, and these, perhaps, belong to some other school than that of Florence. But supposing it to be ascertained that a certain proof belonged, for example, to the Bolognese school, must it, because it happens to be of a ruder style than Finiguerra's, therefore be more ancient? The more dry, the more rude, the more uncouth specimens cannot fairly be brought forward against Finiguerra in proof of their greater antiquity; otherwise, we shall fall into Scalzo's humorous piece of sophistry, who affirmed that the Baronci were the oldest men in Florence, and even in the world, because they were the most deformed.—(Decamerone Giorn. vi. nov. 6.)—Let Maso, then, enjoy the merit of the discovery till some one else shall produce *proofs* of a more ancient date than those taken by him on paper and sulphur.

During the second stage of engraving, I shall make no mention of German masters, concerning whom I have but insufficient data to go upon; but shall confine my observations to those of Italy. Vasari is of opinion that this second stage of the art took its rise in Lower, Lomazzo, in Upper Italy. Va-

sari, in his "Life of Marcantonio," says, "that Finiguerra was succeeded by Baccio Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith, who, having no great merit in design, in all that he executed availed himself of the invention and designs of Sandro Botticelli. This matter coming to the knowledge of Andrea Mantegna, then at Rome, caused him to set about engraving a considerable number of his own works." Now Vasari, in his "Life of Sandro," points out the precise time at which the latter applied himself to engraving. That was, when, having completed his works in the Sistine Chapel, and returned forthwith to Florence, "he illustrated a part of Dante, giving engraved representations of the Inferno, on which he spent a great deal of time, and which, owing to his neglect of his other occupations, became to him a source of infinite embarrassment." Here, then, we have Botticelli, an engraver, as early as the year 1474, or thereabouts, when he was probably about thirty-seven years of age; and Baldini, who executed nothing, except from designs of Sandro, an engraver also. At the same time with these two, and with a yet higher reputation for genius, Antonio Pollaiuolo also cultivated the art of engraving. Very few of his engravings have come down to us, though among them is his celebrated battle-piece, abounding with naked figures—the last step in the gradual progress towards the bold style of Michael Angelo. The date of these works must be placed somewhere about the year 1480, for Pollaiuolo having risen into repute in consequence of them, was, towards the year 1483, invited to Rome to execute the tomb of Sixtus IV., who died in that year.

On the other hand, Mantegna, who, about the year 1490, painted the chapel of Innocent VIII., at Rome, must, according to Vasari, be considered as having cultivated engraving either about that or the preceding year—that is to say, about the sixtieth year of his age. He lived sixteen years longer. And are we to believe, that in this time he executed that astonishing

number of copper-plate engravings—said to amount to about fifty, thirty of which are unquestionably genuine—of which the style is so grand, the figures so numerous, and, for the most part, the finishing so exquisite, after the usual manner of Mantegna's works? Lomazzo would lead us to entertain a very different opinion; for at page 682 of his "Treatise," on mention of Mantegna's name, he subjoins this brief panegyric: "A skilful painter, and the earliest engraver of prints in Italy;" where, as he does not call him the *inventor*, but the *earliest engraver* of them, he would seem to derive from him the origin of this second stage of engraving, in Italy, at least; for he believed the art to have already existed in Germany. Such an authority is by no means to be slighted. I am not surprised, therefore, that Meerman should look upon Andrea as having cultivated engraving before either Baldini or Botticelli. For the rest, it is no easy matter to assign the precise period at which Mantegna began to handle the burin. To me it seems certain that he commenced at Padua; for the masterly manner in which he evidently handled it in every engraving is not what we should look for in a young beginner; nor is it to be supposed that he would have set about acquiring such an art in old age. Some think they have discovered a specimen of his engraving, bearing a date, in a work of Pietro d'Abano's, intitled "A Treatise on Poisons," published at Mantua, in 1472, "in the first page of which the initial letter is seen engraved in copper, and occupying the whole width of the column. Hence it is evident that the art of engraving on copper was known as early as the year 1472." So says Panser, (Ann. Typogr. ii. 4,) of whom I know not whether he ever saw the work itself, which is in folio, and consists of seven pages.

To me, however, it seems not to admit of a doubt, that, about the period in question, not only were engravings on metal executed at Mantua, where Mantegna resided, but at Bologna too. There is, in the possession of the Corsini family at Rome, as

well as in that of the Foscarini at Venice*, a copy of Ptolemy's Geography, printed at Bologna by Domenico de Lapis, bearing the date (probably erroneous) of 1462. It contains six-and-twenty maps, engraved in a very rude manner, but yet so greatly admired by the printer, that in the Preface he extols this new invention, and compares it to the discovery of printing itself, which had not long before been made in Germany. Meerman, however, and other learned men, will have it that the date requires correcting; induced more especially by the catalogue of the correctors of the work, among whom we find mention of Filippo Beroaldo, who, in 1462, was only nine years of age. Hence Meerman thinks that we ought to read it 1482; Audifredi and others, 1491: opinions in which I cannot readily coincide. For Ptolemy's Geography having issued from the press at Rome, embellished with seven-and-twenty elegant maps, in 1478, what must have been the impudence, or rather the madness, of the Bolognese printer, if we should suppose him to have so emphatically extolled his own edition after the appearance of one incomparably superior! We must, therefore, carry the date of the Bolognese engravings a few years farther back than the printing of the work, which probably belongs to 1472. The earliest copper-plates that we can refer to with any degree of certainty at Florence, are the three elegant engravings of the *Monte Santo di Dio*, published in 1477, and the two in the two cantos of Dante, published in 1481; of one of which, as a sort of third specimen, there is a duplicate in the same book: these all seem to have been struck off with the roller, the art of inserting the copper-plates among the types being then unknown. The one-and-thirty maps that embellish Berlinghieri's book, which was printed about the same time, though without date, are also worthy of being commemorated, in whatever way they may have been executed. In these, too, we meet with some heads with

* Now in the collection of the Abbé Mauro Boni.

the names *Aquilo, Africus,* &c., but all of them of a youthful cast, and tolerably well designed; whereas, in the Bolognese maps, the same heads are represented of different ages, with beards and caps, and in a ruder manner. The works above noticed issued from the press of Niccolò Todesco, or Niccolo di Lorenzo de Lamagna, the first of the Florentine printers whose works were embellished with engravings.

All that now remains is the last and perfected state of copper-plate engraving, for which, as it seems to me, we are as clearly indebted to Germany, as we are for the discovery of printing. The press which the Germans invented for the purposes of printing served to pave the way for the copper-plate press. The construction was necessarily different; the object in the former case being to take the impression from types somewhat in relief; in the latter, from plates hollowed out by the burin. It was then, too, that a sort of ink was introduced, not of the same pale and dusky hue as that which had been used for wood-cuts, but, as Meerman styles it, " singulare ac tenuius." This last and improved stage of the art, the same writer dates from about the year 1470. History, at any rate, goes to shew that this improved state of the art was brought to us from Germany by that same Conrad Sweyneym, who got up the beautiful Roman edition of Ptolemy. From the Preface, prefixed by an anonymous writer, we learn that Conrad laboured three years at this work, and left it imperfect; whence it was continued by Arnold Buckinck, and published by him in 1478, as I have already observed. The prints evince a degree of elegance that excites our admiration, and must have been struck off with the press. It has been supposed that Conrad set about the work towards the year 1472; one thing, at least, appears certain, viz. that the engravings were struck off as early as 1475. Nor must I neglect to observe, that Botticelli may have been enamoured of this novel art at Rome; for scarcely had he returned from that city, about the year 1474, before he began to execute copper-plate engravings for books,

with all that ardour which Vasari describes; and was, in fact, the first who engraved entire figures and historical pieces. As to his engravings never having been of a very finished character, this may perhaps be ascribed to his being unacquainted with the art of taking off the impression of the plates and the types on the same page, as well as to the circumstance that the press and the above improved method were unknown except in the shops of the German printers. However this may be, it seems at least certain, that a long time elapsed before our engravers improved on that imperfect state of the art which I have just described. In the days of Marcantonio, who began to come into notice after the year 1500, the art was now matured and disseminated throughout Italy; insomuch, that he was enabled to enter into competition with Albert Durer, and Luke of Holland, equalling them in the mechanical parts of the art, and surpassing them in design. From this triumvirate must we date the more flourishing era of engraving; and from the same period, the more flourishing era of painting. The newly-discovered art diffused throughout every school the best models of design, which served as guides to the earlier artists of the fifteenth century. After the example of Albert Durer, they who copied from nature learnt to design more correctly, as well as to introduce into their compositions, if not greater taste, at least greater variety and copiousness, as is observable in the Venetians of that period. The more painstaking of the others, following the examples with which Marcantonio supplied them of the works of Raphael and the more distinguished Italians, set themselves to impart greater elegance to their designs, and a more judicious arrangement to their compositions; as we shall find during the progress of the history of painting itself, of which, after a digression not altogether unprofitable, we now once more resume the thread.

Florentine School.

EPOCH II.

DA VINCI, BONARRUOTI, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS, FROM THE MOST FLOURISHING EPOCH OF THIS SCHOOL.

EVERY nation has its virtues and its vices; and whoever undertakes to write the history of a people should freely applaud the former, and honestly acknowledge the latter. It is the same with the various schools of painting, of which no one is so perfect as to leave us nothing further to desire; no one so faulty as not to have much in it that we may commend. The Florentine —I speak not of its more distinguished masters, but of its artists in general—has no great merit in point of colouring, whence Mengs was wont to style it a melancholy school; nor has it much in point of drapery, whence some one else observed, that, at Florence, the drapery of figures seemed to him to be selected and fashioned with economy. It does not excel in relief, which it did not generally cultivate till the last century; nor does it evince any great powers of beauty, owing, perhaps, to its being for a long time destitute of the finer specimens of Grecian sculpture; for it was late before Florence acquired possession of the Venus; nor would it, but for the kind attention of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold, now have had to boast of the Apollo, the group of the Niobe, and other choice remains. Hence the Florentine school aimed only at that fidelity of representation usually to be found in the works of those who copy closely from nature; and in general, it knew how to select its subjects. In the composition of pictures of a larger size it could not boast of superior grouping; and in these one would rather feel disposed to erase a superfluous figure, than add another that might seem

more necessary. In keeping, truth, and historic accuracy, it surpasses most schools.

The distinguishing excellence, and, as it were, hereditary patrimony of this school, is design. It may also claim the peculiar merit of having produced a great number of excellent painters in fresco; an art so superior to that of painting in oil, that Bonarruoti looked upon the latter, compared with the former, as mere sport: such dexterity and address does it require, by the necessity it imposes of uniting excellence of workmanship with rapidity of execution—objects the most difficult to be attained in any pursuit. Finally, the Florentine school was the first to set the example of proceeding scientifically, and according to general rules. Some other schools have originated in a careful attention to natural effects; mechanically imitating the external appearances, or, if we may be allowed the expression, the superficies of objects. But Da Vinci and Bonarruoti, the two grand luminaries of this school, like true philosophers as they were, penetrated into the immutable springs and fixed laws of nature; and by this means established maxims, which not only their own followers, but foreigners also, have adopted, to the great improvement of the art.

LEONARDO DA VINCI.

Leonardo da Vinci, so called from a town of the lower Valdarno, was the natural son of one Pietro, a notary of the *Signoria* of Florence, and was born in 1452. Nature had endowed him with a genius uncommonly elevated and penetrating, eager after discovery, and ardent in the pursuit of it; not only as regards the three arts dependent on design, but in the mathematics also, in mechanics, hydrostatics, music, and poetry; to say nothing of the attainments necessary to form an accomplished cavalier, such as horsemanship, fencing, and dancing. So completely

had he mastered all these, that whenever he exercised himself in any one of them, the spectator might have imagined he had made that one his sole study. Moreover, this vigour of intellect was in him combined with a comeliness of person and a gracefulness of manners, that gave additional lustre to the noble qualities of his mind. Hence he was a favourite both with foreigners and with his fellow-citizens—both with private individuals and with princes; with the latter of whom he passed a great portion of his life on terms of intimacy and almost of friendship. Thus, without giving himself much trouble, he was, as Vasari observes, always enabled to live like a man of rank.

Da Vinci acquired the art of painting from Verrocchio, and, as we have already observed, while still a youth, surpassed his master. Of this his early education he ever afterwards retained some vestiges. Like Verrocchio, he too designed more willingly than he painted: geometry was the constant object of his study: in his design and in the choice of his heads he preferred elegance and vivacity of expression to fulness of contour; he also paid great attention to the drawing of horses, and the representing of the skirmishes of soldiers; and rather aimed at improving the art, than at adding to the existing specimens of it. His master was an excellent sculptor, as is manifest from his St. Thomas, in the church of Orsanmichele at Florence, and from the horse, in that of St. John and St. Paul at Venice. In like manner, Da Vinci not only modelled in a very superior style the three statues cast in bronze by Rustici, for the church of St. John at Florence, and the colossal horse at Milan; but, by the help which such knowledge afforded him, he contrived to impart to painting that perfect relief and roundness in which it was still deficient. He also invested it with additional symmetry, grace, and spirit. For these and other merits he is esteemed the father of modern painting; although some of his works, as Mariette has observed, are not wholly exempt from that poverty of manner which characterizes those of the old school.

Da Vinci pursued two methods; the one abounding in shadow, which serves admirably by way of contrast to set off the lights; the other possessing more repose, and produced by means of middle tints. Each style is remarkable for the gracefulness of the design, the accurate developement of the passions, and the delicacy of the pencilling. In his paintings every thing wears an air of gaiety—the groundwork, the landscape, and the adventitious embellishments of necklaces, flowers, and architectural ornaments; but more especially the heads. In these he is apt to repeat the same idea, investing them with a smile which delights the mind of the spectator. He did not, however, give the last finishing touch to his heads; on the contrary, from some unaccountable timidity, he often left his pictures in an unfinished state, as I shall observe more particularly when I come to treat of the Milanese school.

The life of Leonardo may be divided into four periods: the first of which is the portion of time he spent at Florence, while still a young man. To this period, as it seems, may we assign not only the Medusa of the Ducal Gallery, and the few pieces pointed out by Vasari; but those others also, which have less depth of shadow, less variety in the folds of the drapery, less of selection than of delicacy in the heads, and which seem derived from the school of Verrocchio. Such is the Magdalene of the Pitti palace at Florence, and that of the Aldobrandini palace at Rome; some few Madonnas and Holy Families in different galleries, as the Giustiniani and Borghese, for example; some heads of the Baptist, which I have met with in various places; though from the great number of Leonardo's imitators, there is often room for doubt as to the genuineness of such pieces. The Infant Jesus, laid on a highly-decorated couch, wrapped in rich swaddling clothes, and adorned with a necklace, to be seen in the collection of his Excellency the Gonfaloniere of Bologna, is in a different style, and of unquestionable authenticity.

After this first period, Leonardo was induced to visit the court

of Lodovico Sforza, at Milan, "for the purpose of performing on the harp, of which the latter was particularly fond: on this occasion, Leonardo carried with him one which he had constructed with his own hands—a curious and novel instrument, in great part composed of silver." All the musicians assembled there being vanquished, and the whole city struck with admiration at the extraordinary talent he evinced as an improvisatore and an orator, he was retained by the prince, and continued there till the year 1499, engaged in various abstruse studies, and in mechanical and hydrostatical works for the service of that State. With the exception of his celebrated *Last Supper*, he painted but little during this period; but by superintending an academy of the fine arts, he inculcated such a soundness of principles, and left behind him such illustrious pupils at Milan, that this period may, as we shall see, be considered as the most glorious of his life.

After the decline of Lodovico Sforza's fortunes, Leonardo returned to Florence, and having remained there about thirteen years, repaired to Rome on the accession of his former patron Leo X. to the papal chair; but his stay at the latter place was short. To this epoch are referred some celebrated works of his at Florence, such as the far-famed portrait of Monna Lisa, the labour of four years, and after all left unfinished—the cartoon of S. Anna, prepared for an altar-piece at the Servi, which he could never prevail upon himself to colour—and the other cartoon of the Battle of Niccolò Piccinino, executed in emulation of Michael Angelo's for the Sala del Consiglio, and, like that, never painted; Da Vinci having failed in his attempts to invent a method of painting in oil on plaster. He probably adopted some other novel method in painting the picture of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus in her arms, in the monastery of S. Onofrio at Rome—a picture in the manner of Raphael, but one which has now, in many places, peeled off from the wall. There are various other beautiful works, which, were it permitted us to indulge

in conjecture, might well be assigned to this era; in which Leonardo, having, if we may so say, attained the *acmé* of his proficiency, and being as yet exempt from other cares, may have acquitted himself better than at any other period. Such is the piece which for a long time was preserved at Mantua, and which, at the sack of that city, is thought to have been stolen and subsequently concealed; till at length, after various vicissitudes, it was sold, at a high price, to the imperial family of Russia. It is a Holy Family, behind which is seen standing erect a female figure, of a countenance at once dignified and highly beautiful. Such also, and of an age corresponding with the period in question, is that portrait of his in the *Stanza de' Pittori* of the Florentine gallery, a head which, for energy of expression, surpasses every other in that apartment; as well as another head in a different apartment, called the portrait of Raphael; together with that half-length figure of a young Nun, so highly extolled by Bottari, and pointed out as one of the greatest curiosities in the splendid mansion of the Marquis Niccolini. Such also are certain of his more admired performances in the possession of some of the Roman princes, as—the picture called the Christ Disputing in the Temple, and that which passes for the portrait of the Queen Joanna, embellished with beautiful architectural ornaments, in the Doria palace—the Vanity and Modesty in the Barberini palace, the colouring of which no imitator has ever yet been able to hit off exactly—and in the Albani palace, the Madonna that appears to be begging for the lily which the Infant Jesus holds in his hand, while the latter seems to draw back, as if unwilling to part with it; an exquisite picture, and preferred by Mengs to every other in that fine collection. It would argue presumption, however, to attempt to assign a date to every picture, especially in the case of an artist who rose to eminence in early life, continually essayed new methods, and frequently abandoned a work before it was completed.

When this celebrated painter had attained his sixty-third year,

he appears to have renounced the art for ever. Francis I., who about the year 1515 saw his *Last Supper* at Milan, thought of getting it severed from the wall and carried into France; but, failing in his project, resolved to prevail upon the author himself, though now advanced in years, to visit that country. He invited him, therefore, to his court; and Da Vinci must, in all probability, have felt little regret at quitting Florence. Since his return thither, he had found in the young Bonarruoti a rival who was now quite able to enter into competition with him; nay, one who was even employed in preference to him both at Florence and Rome; inasmuch as he furnished his employers with works, while, according to Vasari, Da Vinci put them off with words. It is notorious that they were on bad terms; and Leonardo, consulting his quiet, which there is but little chance of enjoying in the midst of rivalry, withdrew into France, where, without having ever employed his pencil, he died in the year 1519.

His style, though highly worthy of imitation, was less followed at Florence than we shall find it to have been at Milan: nor is this to be wondered at. At the former place Da Vinci left no picture in public; nor did he there rear up any pupil. At Florence we meet with pictures by unknown artists, in the possession of private individuals, that look as if they were the work of Da Vinci; and which those who want to sell sometimes even extol as his, relating with a grave face the high prices they have fetched. These may have been executed by Salai or others of Da Vinci's imitators, who profited by his cartoons, his sketches, and his few paintings. Of all the Florentines, one Lorenzo di Credi, whose real name was Sciarpelloni, was, according to history, the closest follower of Da Vinci. Educated, as well as Da Vinci, in the school of Verrocchio, he adopted nearly the same maxims; he was of the like patient turn, and wrought with the same nicety and exactness, but approached less closely to the softness of the moderns. There are in the possession of

different individuals, many circular Holy Families of his, executed with an inventiveness and gracefulness that remind us of Leonardo*.

MICHAEL ANGELO BONARRUOTI.

Michael Angelo Bonarruoti, memoirs of whom were published by two of his disciples† during his life-time, was born three-and-twenty years after Leonardo. Like him, he was endowed with a quick wit and ready utterance: insomuch that his witty sayings may rank with those of the Greek painters recorded by Dati; or, indeed, with those of the smartest and most facetious speakers. He had not Da Vinci's taste for the elegant and the graceful; his genius, however, was of a bolder and more comprehensive character. Hence he was enabled to attain the highest eminence in each of the three sister arts; and in each of them has left behind him specimens that might have immortalized three different artists, had his pictures, his statues, and his architectural works, been the production of as many different authors. Like Da Vinci, he too gave such proofs of talent even from his boyhood, as compelled his master to acknowledge his own inferiority. This master was Domenico Ghirlandaio, who, through fear of losing his pre-eminence in painting, had sent away his own brother Benedetto to France; and who, dreading perhaps the rare abilities of Bonarruoti, turned his attention to sculpture. For Lorenzo the Magnificent—being desirous of encouraging the art of sculpture, which at Florence was then somewhat on the decline, and having collected in his garden of

* Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, and Giuliano Bugiardini, were also distinguished as imitators of Da Vinci; particularly the latter, whom Lanzi compares, in this respect, to Luini himself, the Milanese imitator of Leonardo.

† Vasari and Ascanio Condivi.

St. Mark many remains of ancient art, the care of which he had consigned to Bertolo, a scholar of Donatello's—requested Ghirlandaio to procure him some young man to be there brought up as a sculptor; and the latter accordingly sent him Michael Angelo. This proceeding was a source of vexation to the youth's father Lodovico, who deemed the profession derogatory from his son's high birth; yet in the end he had no reason to regret it. Lorenzo, finding he had attained his object, not only pushed Lodovico's fortune, but retained Michael Angelo in his palace, rather as a relative than a dependant—admitting him to table with his own sons, with Politian, and other learned men, who were then the ornaments of his court. During the four years that he continued there, he laid the foundation of every liberal accomplishment, and more especially cultivated poetry; whence, in his sonnets, he was enabled to equal Da Vinci, and to relish Dante—a bard who delights in themes too deep and abtruse for the grasp of vulgar minds. For design, he had recourse to the works in Masaccio's chapel, and with the same view copied the remains of antiquity in Lorenzo's garden, as well as applied himself to anatomy; and this science, to which—not without great detriment to his health—he is said to have devoted twelve years in all, led to his characteristic manner, and thus paved the way for his future pre-eminence and glory.

To such studies may we trace the source of that peculiar style, which procured him the name of the Dante of art. As that poet courted themes very difficult to be handled in verse, and from an abstruse subject extracted the praise of depth and grandeur; so did Michael Angelo seek out the most thorny path of design, and in pursuing it acquire the highest reputation for science and sublimity. Man, as he is made to appear in Bonarruoti's works, assumes that form which, according to Quintilian*, Zeuxis always delighted to represent; so vigorous is he,

* Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius atque augustius ra-

and muscular, and robust. His foreshortenings and his attitudes are of the most difficult kind; his expression full of vivacity and energy. There are yet other points of resemblance between them—a certain parade of knowledge, for example, whence Dante has sometimes appeared to critics more of a preceptor than a poet, Bonarruoti more of an anatomist than a painter—and a certain neglect of the beautiful, from which the former frequently, and, if we abide by the decision of the Carracci and Mengs, the latter sometimes degenerates into harshness. I shall not, however, pretend to decide on points like these, which depend entirely upon taste: I will only remind the reader that this comparison must not be carried too far; for the poet, from a disposition to court the difficult both in matter and versification, has sometimes gone so much out of his way, that he cannot always be proposed as a pattern; whereas every drawing, every sketch, and much more every larger work of M. Angelo's, is regarded as a model in art; and while, in the former, we discern symptoms of constraint, in the latter all is nature and ease. It was a saying of his, that a man ought to have the compasses in his eyes; a maxim apparently borrowed from Diodorus Siculus, who affirmed that the Egyptians carried their measures in their hands, the Greeks theirs in their eyes. Nor is such a panegyric inapplicable to our artist; who whenever he handled either the pencil, the crayon, or a piece of charcoal, though it were but in sport, seemed, if we may so say, infallible in every part of design.

Bonarruoti was lauded to the skies by Ariosto, no less for his skill in painting than in sculpture*; but Condivi, and most

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tus; atque ut existimant Homerum secutus, cui validissima quæque forma etiam in fœminis placet.—*Inst. Orat.* XII. 10.

* Duo Dossi, e quel che a par sculpe e colora
Michel più che mortale Angiol divino.

Canto XXIII. 2.

others, prefer his chisel to his pencil; and it must be confessed, that he employed the former more professedly, and with greater reputation to himself. He knows not what sculpture is, who knows not how to appreciate—his Moses, at the tomb of Julius II., in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli—his Christ, in that of the Minerva—his Pietà, in St. Peter's—and the statues of his to be seen at Florence, in S. Lorenzo, and in the ducal palaces; in themselves a school of revived art. I will not extol them so extravagantly as Vasari does, who, speaking of the colossal David placed near the Palazzo Vecchio, affirms that "it bore away the palm from every other statue, ancient or modern, Greek or Roman;" nor shall I follow Bottari, in whose opinion Bonarruoti "has far surpassed the Greeks, whose statues, when larger than life, are not of a very superior order." I have often heard competent judges declare that, without wronging the ancient masters, we cannot even compare one of the moderns to them, much less give that modern the preference: besides, I must not wander too far from the subject of my story—the canvass and its varied hues.

Not, indeed, that I have any great deal to offer even on this head, so far as regards M. Angelo, who painted but little; as if, concious of his supremacy in sculpture, he dreaded appearing as a second or third-rate painter. The greater part of his compositions were, as we have already observed of Da Vinci's, nothing more than mere sketches: hence, though one or two cabinets may be rich in his designs, not one of them can boast of many of his paintings. The cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, prepared with a view to dispute the palm with Da Vinci's, in the Sala of the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, is said to have been a miracle in this branch of art. Mariette takes for granted that Da Vinci himself, by his example, paved the way for this great work; but at the same time admits that he was outdone by it. Not content with representing the engagement between the enemy and such of the Florentines as were already armed, M.

Angelo feigned the attack to have been made on the Florentine van while a portion of the latter were bathing in the Arno; and hence, seizing the opportunity of depicting a number of naked figures, in the act of issuing from the river, and hurrying to arm and defend themselves, he was enabled to introduce foreshortenings the most novel, and attitudes the most terrific; in a word, the highest degree of that peculiar excellence in which he is acknowledged to be supreme.

The cartoon, of which we have thus far been treating, is lost; and this loss has been imputed to Baccio Bandinelli, who was charged with having destroyed it, either that no one else might profit by the study of it, or because out of partiality to Da Vinci, and hatred to Bonarruoti, he was anxious to withdraw from the public gaze a subject of comparison which could not but exalt the reputation of the latter above that of the former. The charge, however, has never been satisfactorily proved; nor, indeed, need we trouble ourselves much about the supposed culprit, who, though eminent in design and sculpture, painted but very few pieces, which may almost all be reduced to a *Noah Inebriated*, and a *Limbo de' SS. Padri*. Baccio very soon renounced painting, and M. Angelo would seem to have done the same, for he was invited to Rome by Julius II. in his capacity of sculptor; and when, about the year 1508, the Pope wished him to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he wanted to excuse himself, and sought to transfer the task to Raphael.

Being, however, constrained to accept it, and wholly unaccustomed to work in fresco, he invited some of the more distinguished fresco-painters from Florence to assist, or, more properly speaking, to instruct him; and having gained all the information he wanted, defaced what they had done, and set about the work alone. When he had completed about half the work, he exhibited it for a short time to the public. He then set about the remainder; but not getting on quick enough to satisfy the impatient Pontiff, threats were held out to induce

him to use greater dispatch; so that, singly, and in the short space of twenty months, he contrived to finish the vast portion that was still left. I have said singly, for such was the delicacy of his taste, that no one else could satisfy him; and as, in sculpture, he made with his own hands every auger, file, and chisel that he used; so, in painting, "he not only mixed the grounds and made the other necessary preparations and implements, but even ground his colours himself, not caring to trust to apprentices and assistants." It is here that we behold those august and finely varied figures of the Prophets and Sibyls, whose style, Lomazzo—an impartial judge, because of a different school—pronounces to be, in his opinion, "the best the world has ever seen." Here, indeed, the dignified air that pervades their features—the solemn majesty that beams in their eyes—the singular and unusual disposition of the drapery—and the very attitudes, whether representing rest or motion, all announce a race of mortals to whom the Deity vouchsafes to reveal the future, or whose mouths utter what he inspires. Nor did he display less skill in his pictures of the Creation of the World, the Deluge, the Judith, and the others in the different compartments of that vast ceiling. All is variety and ingenuity in the drapery, the foreshortenings, and the attitudes; all is novelty in the composition and the design. He who contemplates the historical pieces executed by Sandro and his associates on the walls, and then, raising his eyes to the ceiling, beholds M. Angelo—*che sopra gli altri come aquila vola*—"soaring on eagle wing above them all," can hardly be persuaded that one who was unpractised in painting, could, in this his first essay, so far have outstripped the greatest of the old masters, and thus have opened a new career to the moderns.

In the succeeding pontificates, M. Angelo, entirely taken up with sculpture and architectural works, almost wholly renounced the pencil; till at length Paul III. prevailed upon him to resume it. Clement VII. had conceived the idea of getting him to re-

present, in the Sistine Chapel, two other grand historical pieces —the *Fall of the Angels*, over the entrance; and the *Last Judgment*, on the opposite façade, over the altar. M. Angelo had even prepared designs for a Last Judgment, and Paul III., who was aware of the circumstance, compelled, or rather besought him to set about the work; for he went in person to M. Angelo's residence, accompanied by no less than ten cardinals —an honour unparalleled in the annals of art. At the suggestion of Sebastiano del Piombo, the Pope was anxious to have the picture painted in oils: but this point he could not carry, M. Angelo having replied, that he would not execute it except in fresco, and that oil-painting was occupation fit only for women and idlers, or such as had plenty of time on their hands. Causing the plaster, therefore, prepared by Fra Sebastiano, to be pulled down, and substituting a rough-cast more to his mind, he spent eight years upon the work, and exhibited it to the public in 1541. If he could not altogether equal his own expectations in the frescos on the ceiling, nor retouch them here and there, as he could have wished, after they were dry, in this immense painting he had a fair opportunity of satisfying himself, and displaying his extraordinary powers to his heart's content. He contrived to people the whole of this vast space; covering it with a multitudinous assemblage of figures, awakened by the sound of the last trump—crowds of angels and of devils, of the elect and the condemned—some rising up from the tomb, others already risen—some soaring to the mansions of the blessed, others hurried away to the place of torment.

There have not been wanting those, as Bottari observes, who, on comparing this picture with those of other artists, have sought to depreciate it; remarking how much its author might have improved it in expression, colouring, composition, and elegance of contour. Notwithstanding this, however, Lomazzo, Felibien, and others, have not failed to acknowledge his supremacy in that particular branch of art, in which it was, in all his

works, and more especially in this of the Last Judgment, the object of his ambition to attain it. The subject itself seemed not so much to have been selected by him, as to have been expressly made for him. To a genius so vast, and so deeply versed in delineating the human figure, no subject could be better adapted than the general resurrection; to an artist who delighted in the terrible, no story better suited than the terrors of the day of judgment. In every other accomplishment of art he found himself anticipated by Raphael; he saw that this was the only one in which he could expect to come off triumphant; and perhaps, too, he was not without a hope that posterity might award the palm to him, should they find him to have been foremost in the most arduous walk of art. His confidant, Vasari, who coincided in his views, seems to give some intimation of this in two passages of his "Life of Michael Angelo." He informs us, that, intent "on the great object of art—the delineation of the human figure—he neglected the graces of colouring, and the attractions of fanciful and novel conceits;" and observes, on another occasion, that, "neither landscapes, trees, nor edifices, are to be found in his works; nor do we meet with much variety, or many of the adventitious charms of painting, for to these he never paid any attention; as if, conscious of his mighty powers, he would not deign to stoop to these more trivial matters." I cannot suppose M. Angelo chargeable with such senseless arrogance, or such indifference to his own improvement in an art, which, embracing every object in nature, cannot be confined to one solitary branch of it—as the delineation of the human figure; nor to one single character—as the awful style in which that artist excelled. I am rather disposed to think, that, perceiving his peculiar aptitude for this style, he did not choose to attempt any other. Here he proceeded, as in his own proper sphere, and, what one cannot defend, would not keep within bounds, or submit to any control. This Last Judgment was filled with such a crowd of naked figures, that the work had

well nigh been defaced in consequence of it. Out of regard for the decency of the Sanctuary, Paul IV. intended to have had it covered with whitewash, and was hardly diverted from his purpose by the correction of its more glaring indelicacies; some drapery having been introduced here and there by Daniel of Volterra, to whom the Romans, with their usual love of sarcasm, from that circumstance applied the new-coined epithet of *Brachettone*, or the "Breeches-maker."

Other improvements have been suggested by different critics, both with regard to keeping and composition. Thus M. Angelo has been censured for confounding together sacred and profane history; the Angels of the Apocalypse and the Stygian Ferryman; Christ, the Universal Judge, and Minos, who assigns his proper station to each of the damned. To this profanation he also added satire; investing Minos with the features of a certain master of the ceremonies, who, with a view to prejudice the Pope, had pronounced this picture fitter for a bagnio than a church. In matters of this sort, M. Angelo must not be proposed as a pattern. Scannelli, in his "Microcosm," (p. 6,) has expressed a wish that there had been greater variety in the proportions of the different figures, and that their muscularity had also been made to vary with their age: although, by a manifest anachronism, he fathers this piece of criticism on Da Vinci, who died in 1519. Albani, as quoted by Malvasia, (tom. ii. p. 254,) says, that "Had M. Angelo seen the works of Raphael, he would have known how to represent the spectators that surround the judgment-seat of Christ in a better manner than he has done;" where I know not whether it is the composition or the perspective that displeases him: this, however, I know, that he, too, is guilty of an anachronism, in thus supposing the Last Judgment to have been executed before Raphael went to Rome.

Moreover, I must not omit to notice that Albani failed not to do justice to M. Angelo's distinguished merit; not imitating the

fashion of the present day, in admitting only three great luminaries of art, but adding Bonarruoti as a fourth, who, in his opinion, surpassed Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, in sublimity and anatomical accuracy. (Malvasia, ii. 254.) And here we may observe, that M. Angelo, when he was so disposed, knew how to acquit himself with credit in those branches of the art in which those others are supreme. It is a commonly received opinion, that he had no taste for beauty or grace; and yet the Eve of the Sistine Chapel, who, at her creation, turns round to offer up her thanksgivings to her Maker, is made to do it with an air so lovely and engaging, that it would do no discredit to a follower of Raphael himself. So captivated was Annibal Caracci, not only with the Eve, but with many other of the naked figures on this grand ceiling, that he proposed them to himself as models of art, and even preferred them to those of the Last Judgment, which, according to Bellori, appeared to him too anatomical. In chiaroscuro he may have fallen short of the exquisite skill and softness of Correggio: the pictures at the Vatican have, however, a force and relief, to which a just tribute was paid by that eminent connoisseur, Renfesthein, who, in passing from the Sistine Chapel to the Sala of the Farnese palace, failed not to point out to those strangers, to whom he acted as guide and preceptor at the same time, how greatly the Caracci themselves were surpassed in this respect by Bonarruoti. Dolce, in his " Dialogue on Painting," pronounces a less favourable opinion of his colouring; as might, indeed, be expected from one who was prepossessed in favour of Titian and the Venetian school. Yet no one can deny, that M. Angelo's colouring in the above-mentioned chapel is admirably adapted to the design; and the same was most probably the case with the two historical pieces in the Pauline Chapel—the Crucifixion of St. Peter, and the Conversion of St. Paul—though time has impaired them too much to allow us to give a decisive opinion on the subject.

With the exception of those contained in these two chapels, no painting of M. Angelo's is to be met with in public; and those which, in the different galleries, are pointed out as his, are almost all the works of other hands. During his abode at Florence, he executed for Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, a most beautiful Leda; which, however, was not sold to him. M. Angelo, disgusted at the manner in which it was demanded by one in that prince's suite, refused to give it up to him, choosing rather to make a present of it to his *protégé*, Antonio Mini, by whom it was taken into France, and there sold. Another picture of his, representing the Virgin, and the Infant Saviour standing on a fragment of rock beside the cradle—a figure painted to the life—is said to have been formerly in the possession of the Mozzi family, at Florence, and to have been subsequently transferred to the cathedral of Burgos, where it still remains. M. Angelo also executed a circular Holy Family, with naked figures in the distance, for Agnol Doni. It is now in the Tribune of the Florentine gallery, and in the highest state of preservation. Richardson and others have extolled it for the vigour of its tints, but it is in water-colours. Hence, placed beside the works of the best masters of every school, who, in that theatre of art, seem, as it were, to stand in awe of each other, it looks the most scientific, but the least beautiful picture; its author stands before us the most accomplished draughtsman, but the feeblest colourist among them all. In it, too, the aerial perspective is somewhat neglected; for while the figures in the distance are duly diminished, the light is not so managed as to render them proportionably indistinct—a fault by no means uncommon in that age. With regard to certain other pictures pointed out as his in different collections at Florence, Rome, and Bologna, as well as in the catalogue of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and in the royal collections in Spain—pictures which were often repeated, and can hardly be mistaken; as, for instance, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, the Infant Jesus Sleeping, and the Prayer in the

Garden—it is not so easy to determine whether they sufficiently exhibit the peculiarities of his style. They present us with M. Angelo's design, but, in all probability, with the execution of another hand. Vasari's silence appears to prove this; their high finish, too, altogether incredible in an artist, who, even in sculpture, very rarely attempted finish, would seem to argue the same thing; and the decision of Mengs, and of various connoisseurs, whom, for my own satisfaction, I have consulted on the subject, confirms me in this opinion.

Many figures and historical pieces were designed by M. Angelo, and executed at Rome by Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, an excellent colourist of the Venetian school;—as the Deposition, in the church of St. Francis, at Viterbo—the Scourging, Transfiguration, and other pieces, at S. Pietro in Montorio. To his designs also we are indebted for two Annunciations, which were afterwards executed as altar-pieces by Marcello Venusti, of Mantua, a scholar of Perino's, who adopted M. Angelo's style, without appearing to affect it. These were placed, the one in the church of St. John Lateran, the other in that della Pace. Some few cabinet pictures, too, are pointed out as having been executed by him from Bonarruoti's designs—as the *Limbo*, in the Colonna palace—the Christ on his way to Mount Calvary, together with some other pieces, in the Borghese palace—to say nothing of the celebrated copy of the Last Judgment, which he painted for Cardinal Farnese, and which may still be seen at Naples. From a design of Bonarruoti's, too, it was that Batista Franco painted his Rape of Ganymede. In like manner, Pontormo finished a picture from the design of the Venus and Cupid, at Florence; and another from the cartoon of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. Francesco Salviati made a painting from another of Bonarruoti's designs; and Bugiardini also executed some figures which had been sketched by him. Such is the information handed down to us by Vasari; and well would he have deserved our censure, if, while he wrote thus particu-

larly of M. Angelo's designs, and of those who executed paintings from them, he had neglected to tell us that M. Angelo himself had coloured some of them, had such really been the case. Hence the Annunciation, the Scourging, and other oil-paintings mentioned by Bottari, D'Argenville, and the describers of collections, as the work of M. Angelo, cannot very easily be admitted as his. We have already noticed his aversion to this method of painting: we read, that, even during his life-time, he substituted others in this branch of art; and we know that, even after his death, artists continued to avail themselves of his designs. With what face, then, could we ever question the authenticity of any picture, were we readily to admit the genuineness of those oil-paintings ascribed to M. Angelo? Those portraits of Bonarruoti, too, said to be the work of his own hand, I also look upon as spurious; nor did Vasari know of any other portrait than the one that was executed in bronze by Ricciarelli, and the two that were painted, one by Bugiardini, the other by Jacopo del Conte. From these, probably, were taken those old and well-known portraits preserved in the Florentine and Capitoline galleries, the Caprara palace, at Bologna, and that of the Cardinal Zelada, at Rome.

DANIEL OF VOLTERRA.

Ricciarelli, commonly known in history by the name of Daniel of Volterra, enjoys a higher reputation, and is generally considered as a more successful imitator of M. Angelo, than any other of his followers*. Educated at Siena, as the story goes, by Peruzzi and Razzi, and becoming subsequently the assistant of Perino del Vaga, he acquired an astonishing talent for imi-

* Another of his more distinguished Florentine imitators was Francesco Granacci.

tating Bonarruoti; insomuch, that the latter, gratified at the circumstance, got him appointed as his substitute in the works at the Vatican, patronized him, and enriched him with designs. It is well known that while Volterra was engaged on the paintings of the Farnesina, M. Angelo did not desert him; and it is said—*O vero o falso che la fama suoni*—"or true or false the tale," that, during his absence, M. Angelo mounted the scaffolding, and with a piece of charcoal sketched the colossal head that is still seen there. Volterra let it remain, that posterity might be enabled properly to appreciate Bonarruoti's extraordinary powers, who had produced a work of such gigantic proportions, and yet so perfect, on the spur of the moment, and, as it were, in mere sport. Nor could Volterra, but for M. Angelo's assistance, have executed that admirable Descent from the Cross, in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, which, together with Raphael's Transfiguration, and Domenichino's St. Jerome, is reckoned among the finest paintings in Rome. We might almost fancy ourselves spectators of the mournful scene—the Redeemer, while being removed from the Cross, gradually sinking down with all that relaxation of limb and utter helplessness natural to a dead body—the pious assistants, engaged in various duties, and thrown into different and contrasted attitudes, intently occupied with the sacred remains which they regard with evident marks of veneration—the mother of Jesus in a swoon amidst her sorrowing companions—and the beloved Disciple standing with outstretched hands, lost in contemplation of the mysterious spectacle. There is a truth in the representation of those parts of the human body exposed to view, that seems nature itself; a style of colouring in the heads and in the whole piece that accords exactly with the subject, displaying strength rather than delicacy; a relief, a harmony, in a word, a degree of skill such as M. Angelo himself might almost have been proud of, had the picture been inscribed with his name. And to this, I suspect, the author alluded, when he painted his friend Bonarruoti with a looking-glass near it; as if to intimate

that he might, in that picture, behold a reflection of himself. Volterra executed some other pieces on the subject of the Crucifixion, in this same Orsini chapel; they are, however, inferior to the altar-piece above mentioned. He caused two of his scholars—whom the *Guide* to Rome styles Michele Alberti and Giovanni Paolo Rosetti—to paint some other pieces in another chapel of the same church, furnishing them in the mean time with designs; one of which he himself executed for an altar-piece, with figures of a moderate size. This is that picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, which is now honoured with a place in the Tribune of the Royal Florentine Gallery; an honour that says more for it than could any panegyric of mine.

FRA BARTOLOMMEO.

Baccio della Porta, a young Florentine, was so named because his studio happened to be near one of the city gates; but entering the Dominican Order, he was styled, from the convent where he resided, Fra Bartolommeo di S. Marco, or, more briefly, il Frate. While he was pursuing his studies under Rosselli, he became enamoured of the fine effect of Da Vinci's chiaroscuro, and laboured hard to rival it. And as we read of his friend Albertinelli, that he diligently cultivated the art of modelling, and carefully copied the ancient relievos, the better to represent the effects of light and shade, we may fairly presume that Baccio pursued the same plan, although Vasari is silent on the subject. The Grand Duke has in his possession a Nativity and Circumcision, both of them exquisite little pieces, and as highly finished as illuminations—which may be referred to this early period. Having embraced the monastic life in the year 1500, at the age of thirty-one, Baccio continued for four years without ever touching the pencil. The fate of Savonarola, whom he

knew and respected, had preyed upon his mind; and, as was also the case with Botticelli and Credi, had given him a distaste for the art. On returning to it again, he seems, during the remaining thirteen or fourteen years of his life, to have gone on improving daily; so much do his earlier productions, beautiful as they are, yield in merit to his last. His improvement was promoted by Raphael, who, in the year 1504, going to Florence to prosecute his studies, contracted an intimacy with him, and became at once his scholar in colouring and his master in perspective. Having repaired to Rome some few years afterwards, for the purpose of examining the works of Bonarruoti and Raphael, he acquired, if I mistake not, a greater elevation of style, though it was still at all times more allied to that of his friend than to that of his fellow-citizen—in his heads, as well as in the whole of his design, combining dignity with grace. Of this we have a proof in that picture at the Pitti palace, which Pietro da Cortona mistook for a work of Raphael's, though Baccio had painted it before he visited Rome. In that city, says the biographer, confronted with the two great luminaries of art, he seemed to himself to shrink into insignificance, and forthwith returned to Florence;—the very same thing that occurred in the case of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, and other truly great and admirable painters; whose diffidence was afterwards amply atoned for by the assurance of numberless artists who had nothing more than mediocrity to boast of, and who, by the help of that assurance and much ill-placed patronage, contrived, notwithstanding their very moderate talents, to live a long time at Rome. Fra Bartolommeo left behind him at Rome two figures of the two great Apostles, which are still preserved in the Quirinal palace: the St. Peter, which was left in an unfinished state, received its last touches from the hand of Raphael. There is also a picture of his in the Vatican, where, together with many other choice paintings, it was placed by that great pontiff Pius VI. In the Corsini collection there is also a

Holy Family by the same artist—perhaps the most beautiful, and most charming work he ever produced.

His most esteemed performances, however, are to be seen in Tuscany, where there are several altar-pieces of his, and all of them of very great value. The composition of these pictures exhibits the style most in vogue at the time—a style which, without excepting Raphael himself, is observable in every school, and which continued in the Florentine till the days of Pontormo —a Madonna seated with the Infant Saviour, and surrounded by various Saints. But even in a subject thus hackneyed, Fra Bartolommeo contrives to distinguish himself by stately edifices, magnificent flights of steps, and the art with which he disposes the different groups of Saints and Angels. Sometimes he represents them seated and making melody, sometimes poised on their wings, and doing homage to their King and Queen; some of them supporting the drapery, others sustaining the canopy—a rich and tasteful ornament, with which the Virgin's throne is not unfrequently surmounted even in his cabinet pictures. From this style of composition he deviated in a picture which he left at S. Romano di Lucca, called the Madonna della Miserecordia, who is seen seated in the most winning attitude, amidst a crowd of devotees, and sheltering them under her robe from the wrath of heaven. For two other altar-pieces we have to thank his rivals, whose charges he rebutted, like other great men, by his classic performances—a mode of proceeding more galling to the envious than the most bitter retort. They had taunted him with being incompetent to the performance of works in large proportions; and then it was that he produced that great picture containing only the single figure of St. Mark, now in the Grand Duke's collection, and esteemed a miracle of art;—of which an accomplished foreigner once said, that it looked like one of the colossal statues of ancient Greece transformed into a picture. They had also reproached him with being ignorant of the anatomy of the human frame; and to give the lie to that assertion,

he introduced, in another picture, a St. Sebastian, completely naked, as painters are wont to represent him—a work so perfect in design and colouring, that "it excited the unqualified admiration of contemporary artists." It was, however, found to possess too many attractions for the female votaries of the Saint; and the religious fraternity, in whose church it was placed, removed it to a more private situation, and afterwards sold it and sent it to France.

In short, Fra Bartolommeo could, whenever he pleased, acquit himself with credit in every department of painting. His design is perfectly chaste, and, in his youthful heads, fuller and more plump than that of Raphael; exhibiting, according to Algarotti, little elevation in the figures of the vulgar, and bordering on the clumsy. At one period he was apt to overcharge his colours with shadow, produced, according to Vasari's account, by lamp or ivory black; a practice from which some of his pictures have sustained great injury: in process of time, however, he got the better of this habit, and, as we have stated, became expert enough to serve as a model even to Raphael. In strength and lucidness of colouring he is scarcely inferior to the best masters of the Lombard school. Baccio claims also the merit of invention in the disposition of the drapery; others having learnt from his example to use a wooden model, which takes to pieces, and serves admirably to facilitate the study of the folds of dress. Nor did any of his school display more variety, nature, and stateliness in the drapery of their figures, or better adapt it to the body. The works of this artist are to be met with here and there in the collections of distinguished individuals at Florence; but they are very seldom to be found beyond the limits of that city: there they are in great request with foreigners, though they are scarcely ever for sale. The Monks of St. Mark's have a considerable number of his paintings in a private chapel of theirs; and among them a S. Vincenzio, which, in point of colouring, might, according to Bottari, pass for a work of Titian's or Giorgione's. But his best and

choicest performances are in the possession of the Grand Duke, in whose collection is the last of all Fra Bartolommeo's works—a large painting in chiaroscuro, representing the patron Saints of the city placed around the Virgin. It was ordered for the saloon of the Council of State by the Gonfalonier Soderini; but owing to the death of its author, which took place in 1517, it was left a mere sketch, like the cartoons of Da Vinci and Bonarruoti: as if this saloon were fated to be always on the point of receiving decoration from the hands of the best native artists, and were yet always doomed to go without it. In this number may we most assuredly include Fra Bartolommeo; and Richardson remarks, (vol. iii. 126,) that had he chanced to light on the same happy combination of circumstances that attended Raphael's career, he would not, perhaps, have been inferior to him. This last work of his, though but a sketch, is looked upon as a model in the art. It was Baccio's plan first to draw the parts of the figures to be exposed to view, then to dispose the drapery, and to form (sometimes even in oils) a chiaroscuro, in order to mark the distribution of light and shade; which constituted his principal study, and the very life and soul of his paintings. The great sketch of which we have been speaking betrays such preparatory steps; and is, with regard to the intended picture, what the plaster casts of the ancients are with regard to the statues of which they were the models—casts, in which Winckelmann thinks he can discern the stamp of genius and the talent of design, better than in the sculptured marbles themselves.

ANDREA DEL SARTO.

Andrea Vannucchi, from his father's calling styled Andrea del Sarto, is eulogized by Vasari as one of the greatest luminaries of this school; "for the correctness of his works, in

which he surpassed every other Florentine, for the accurate knowledge he possessed of the principles of chiaroscuro, and the art with which he represented objects fading into shadow; as well as for the extreme sweetness of his style—to say nothing of his having shewn the way to give a more perfect union to the different parts of frescos, and that without much retouching them when dry; a circumstance which makes every one of his works look as if it had been finished in a single day." Baldinucci charges him with want of invention; and, to say the truth, he does not display that elevation of fancy, which constitutes the epic in painting no less than in poetry. This was a faculty Andrea did not possess: endowed, as it is said, with a natural modesty, sweetness, and sensibility of temper, he seems to have stamped the same character on all his works. The portico of the Nunziata, converted by him into a gallery above all price, is the fittest place to judge of this. Those chaste contours that gained him the name of "Andrea the faultless"—*Andrea senza errori*—those lovely heads, in which he has embodied his ideas of the beautiful, and whose smiles not unfrequently remind us of Coreggio's simplicity and grace; those well-constructed edifices; those appropriate dresses, adapted to every condition; that unconstrained disposition of the drapery; those popular expressions of curiosity, wonder, reliance, compassion and joy, which reach, without ever transgressing, the bounds of decorum; which explain themselves at the first glance, and which move, without agitating, the passions—all these are merits more easily felt than described. He who feels what Tibullus is in poetry, will readily comprehend what Andrea is in painting.

In this artist we have a striking instance of the worthlessness of precept compared with genius. During his boyhood, he was placed under the direction of Giovanni Barile, an expert carver in wood, engaged to decorate the *palchi* and doors of the Vatican, after designs by Raphael; but of no note at all as a

painter. Afterwards, while yet a young man, he was entrusted to the care of Pier di Cosimo, a good colourist, but by no means skilled in composition or design: hence, in these matters, Andrea formed his taste on the cartoons of Bonarruoti and Da Vinci; and, as many circumstances indicate, on the frescos of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio, where he met with subjects more in unison with the gentleness of his disposition. He went to Rome, though I know not in what year; thither, however, he went; nor does this fact appear to me to admit of dispute, as in the case of Coreggio. I do not infer this from his style, which, even by the admission of Lomazzo and other writers, though less ideal, has much of Raphael's manner in it. Raphael and Andrea had studied the same models at Florence; and even without that might have inherited from nature a fellow-feeling for the selection of the beautiful. I ground my opinion solely on Vasari. He expressly tells us, that Andrea visited Rome, and that, on examining the works of Raphael's scholars, his timidity made him despair of equalling them; whence he forthwith returned to Florence. If we admit so many other proofs of Andrea's pusillanimity, why should we reject this? Or when can we possibly place any dependence upon Vasari, if we suppose him to have been mistaken as to a fact concerning one who had been his master; recorded by him at Florence itself, within a short time of Andrea's death, while his scholars, his friends, and even his wife, were still living—a fact, moreover, affirmed even in the second edition, in which Vasari retracted so much of what he had asserted in the first?

Thus Andrea's improvement and transition from one degree of perfection to another cannot be said to have been very rapid, as in the case of certain others; but to have been gradually brought about during a residence of several years at Florence. There, "reflecting at his leisure on all that he had seen, he made such progress that his works have been held in the highest esteem, and, what is more, have been imitated since

his death even more than during his life-time:" so says his biographer. This, then, implies that he owed his improvement in some measure to his visit to Rome; but still more did he owe it to the force of his own genius, which led him, as it were, by the hand from one step to another; as may be witnessed at the Compagnia dello Scalzo, and at the convent of the Servi, where works of his, executed at different periods, still remain. At the Scalzo he painted some chiaroscuros from the life of St. John, the cartoons of which are to be seen at the Rinuccini palace: in this work critics have detected some palpable imitations of Albert Durer, and even found that one or two figures are wholly copied from him. In his Baptism of Christ we have a specimen of his earlier style; his subsequent progress may be traced in certain other pieces, as in the Visitation painted a few years afterwards; and lastly, his best and grandest style, in certain others, as in the Birth of John the Baptist. In like manner, the historical pieces from the life of S. Filippo Benizi, in the lesser cloister at the convent of the Servi, are most charming performances, though they rank among the earlier efforts of Andrea's genius. The Epiphany, and the Nativity, to be seen at the same place, are paintings of a higher order: but his noblest work of all is that Holy Family in Repose, over one of the doors of the larger cloister, which, from the sack of corn against which St. Joseph reclines, is usually styled the Madonna del Sacco—a picture than which few are more celebrated in the history of art. On closely inspecting this picture, we should find that it might almost be looked at for ever: it is finished as highly as if it had been executed for some little cabinet; every hair is distinguishable, every middle tint lowered with consummate skill, every contour marked with singular variety and grace. Yet, at the same time, amidst all this finish, we discern an air of evident facility, that makes the whole appear natural, and as though it had cost its author little effort.

The Grand Duke has, in his villa of Poggio a Caiano, a

fresco of his representing Cæsar, to whom, while reclining on an elevated seat approached by a flight of steps, in a place decorated with statues, a great variety of wild beasts and foreign birds is presented, as an honorary tribute to his victories—a work of itself sufficient to establish Andrea's reputation as a painter in perspective, a tasteful imitation of the remains of antiquity, and every other accomplishment of the profession. The order for the embellishment of this villa was given by Leo. X.; and Andrea, who, on this occasion, had Franciabigio and Pontormo for his competitors, did his utmost to please that patron of the fine arts, and avoid being outdone by his rivals. The latter, however, being, as I suspect, disheartened, discontinued the work; nor was it till some years afterwards that Alessandro Allori completely finished it. The ducal family is rich in the oil paintings of Andrea. Besides the St. Francis, the Assumption, the pieces from the history of Joseph, and other pictures collected by the house of Medici, the Grand Duke Leopold purchased a very beautiful Pietà of the Nuns of Lugo, and placed it in the Tribune as a work calculated to do honour to the school. The St. Peter and the St. Paul, introduced into this piece contrary to fact, are not faults to be imputed to the painter, who has portrayed them so well, but to the person who ordered the picture. In the dead Christ critics have detected some little defects; that figure appearing to them to sustain itself too well, and to exhibit more fulness in the veins than is in reality found in a dead body. But what are such defects in a picture, the design, colouring, and grouping of which excite universal admiration! A *Last Supper* of his, at the monastery of S. Salvi, would, perhaps, were it not shut up in a monastery, be no less admired. At any rate, the troops, who, in the year 1529, laid siege to Florence, and destroyed the suburbs of the city, thought it worthy of admiration; for, after having demolished the belfry, the church, and a portion of the monastery itself, they were struck with amazement at sight

of this Last Supper, and had not the heart to deface it; imitating, as it were, that Demetrius, who, at the sack of Rhodes, is said to have respected nothing but a picture by Protogenes.—(Plin. N. H. xxxv. 10.)

Andrea executed a great many paintings, and hence his works are well known even beyond the limits of his native place. The best painting of his in the possession of strangers is, perhaps, the altar-piece which was transferred to one of the Genoese palaces from the church of the Dominicans of Sarzana, who still retain a very beautiful copy of it. Its composition is in the style of Fra Bartolommeo; and besides the Saints ranged around the Virgin and on the steps—of whom four are represented standing and two kneeling—there are also in the foreground of the picture two very large figures, which seem, as it were, to start up from a lower plane, and which are visible only down to the knee. Critics, I am aware, do not approve of this plan; yet, where there are so many figures, it helps to introduce variety, and tends to give an appearance of greater distance between the nearer and the more remote; whence the stage seems to expand, and every actor produces effect. In the larger collections, Andrea's Holy Families are by no means rare. The Rinuccini family, at Florence, possesses two; and some of the Roman princes have even a greater number, all of them different, save that the features of the Virgin, which Andrea was wont to copy from those of his wife, are almost always the same. Many, also, have I met with in the various dependencies of Florence and Rome, and not a few in Lombardy, besides those mentioned in the catalogues of foreigners.

A man endowed with genius like this, ought, one would think, to have enjoyed the smiles of fortune; and yet, were one to write a book on the miseries of painters, as has already been done on those of authors, no one would excite more compassion than Andrea. The stories of Coreggio's poverty are exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded; Domenichino, great as was his dis-

tress for a time, lived to see better days; the Carracci were ill paid, it is true, but still they were above want. Andrea, from the period of his marriage with one Lucrezia del Fede to the day of his death, was almost always a prey to sorrow. Vasari tells us, in the first edition of his work, that, in consequence of marrying this woman, he was despised by his friends, and deserted by his employers; that, become the mere slave of her will, he withdrew his support from his parents; that, owing to her violent and overbearing temper, none of Andrea's scholars could continue with him long; and thus, in all probability, it must have fared with Vasari himself. In the second edition, whether it was that he had been appeased, or that he repented of what he had said, he omitted these reproaches; but still did not omit to mention that she had been to her husband a constant source of woe. He there stated afresh, that Andrea had been invited by Francis I. to his court, where, caressed as he was and amply paid, he might have excited the envy of every artist; but, unhappily, yielding to Lucrezia's tears and entreaties, he returned to Florence, and there took up his abode, in violation of the oath he had taken to remain with the king. Repenting, however, soon afterwards, he became anxious to regain his former situation, but failed in the attempt. Thus, amidst jealousy and domestic wretchedness, he continued to drag on a miserable existence; till attacked by a contagious disorder, and deserted not only by others, but even by his wife, he died in 1530, at the early age of forty-two.

Franciabigio. The two who made the nearest approaches to Andrea's style, were, Marco Antonio Francia Bigi, (styled also Franciabigio, or Francia,) and Pontormo. The former of these was, for a few months, the scholar of Albertinelli, and afterwards, as it seems, proceeded to form his manner on the most approved models of the school; nor are there many on whom Vasari has lavished such encomiums, whether for the skill he displayed in anatomy and perspective, the daily habit he was in

of drawing the naked figure, or the unwearied pains he bestowed on all his works. Andrea, who became not only his friend but the companion of his studies, led him to adopt a more elevated style. From an associate, Francia became an ardent follower of Del Sarto: but not being blessed with the same degree of talent, he could never succeed in imparting to his figures the apparent sweetness of disposition, the truth of expression, and innate grace, so conspicuous in the works of the latter. Near the works of Andrea, in the cloister of the Nunziata, there is a semicircular piece of his, representing the Espousals of the Virgin; and in that piece we recognise a painter who sought to effect by diligence what the other accomplished by genius. This work was left in an imperfect state: for some of the monks having exposed it to view before it was completed, the painter was so chagrined at it, that he endeavoured to deface the work with a hammer, and, though frustrated in the attempt, he could never be prevailed upon to finish it; nor would any one else ever venture upon the task. At the Scalzo also he was Andrea's competitor, where he produced two pieces which do not suffer much by comparison with those of his rival. In like manner, at Poggio a Caiano, he undertook, in competition with his friend, to depict Cicero's return from Exile; and this work, though left unfinished, had no little merit. It is the glory of this artist to have been so frequently employed in competition with Andrea, and thus, as we have already observed, to have stimulated him to increased exertion, from the dread of being outdone.

Pontormo. Jacopo Carrucci, from the name of his native place denominated Pontormo, was a man of rare abilities, whose very first performances excited the admiration of Raphael and M. Angelo. He received some few lessons from Da Vinci: was afterwards indebted for some further improvement to Albertinelli and Pier di Cosimo; and finally placed himself under the tuition of Andrea. His master, however, becoming jealous

of his abilities, compelled him by unhandsome treatment to withdraw from his school, but afterwards found in him not only an imitator, but, in many of his undertakings, a rival. In the Visitation, at the convent of the Servi—in the altar-piece containing various saints, at S. Michelino—as well as in the two pieces from the history of Joseph, with small figures after the manner of Poussin, in one of the cabinets of the ducal gallery—we see that it cost him but little effort to tread in the steps of his master, and that it was congeniality of mind alone which led him into a similar path. I say a similar path—for he is no servile copyist of heads and whole figures, like the followers of certain other masters, but invariably retains some distinguishing marks of originality. I once saw, in the possession of the accomplished Marquis Cerbone Pucci, a Holy Family of his, along with others by Baccio, Rosso, and Andrea: Pontormo's style seemed to vie with each of these, and yet was distinct from them all.

Pontormo was of a somewhat eccentric turn, and readily abandoned one style in the hope of hitting upon a better, though often with very indifferent success. At the Carthusian monastery there are works of his, from which connoisseurs have deduced the three different styles ascribed to him. The first is chaste in design, and vigorous in colouring, and may be said to make the nearest approach to the manner of Andrea. The second is also correct in the design, but somewhat languid in the colouring; and this served as a model to Bronzino and others of the succeeding epoch. The third is a palpable imitation of Albert Durer, not only as regards the invention, but even as regards the heads and the folds of the drapery—a style altogether unworthy of so promising a beginning. In this style it is not easy to find specimens of Pontormo's works, with the exception of certain pieces on the subject of the Passion, which he servilely copied from the prints of Albert Durer in one of the cloisters of the above-named monastery, where he spent several

years, unlearning what he had learnt. We might have been able to point out a fourth manner, were the Deluge and Last Judgment, which he painted at S. Lorenzo, and on which he spent eleven years, still in existence. But this his last work has long since been whitewashed over, to the satisfaction of every other artist. His object in it was to emulate M. Angelo, and, like that great man, to set up for a model in the anatomical style, which at Florence began about that time to be lauded above every other. But, in fact, he left posterity a very different lesson; and only shewed that an old man ought not to run after every new-fangled system.

Andrea adopted the plan pursued by Raphael and other artists of that period, in availing himself of the assistance of painters experienced in his style, whether friends or scholars; a remark not without its use to those who may discern in his pictures the labours of another hand.....To the above-mentioned* artists, rather than to any others, may we attribute the many beautiful copies which, both at Florence and elsewhere, are so often made to pass for originals. It seems scarcely credible that Andrea would have repeated his own designs so frequently and so exactly, or that he would have reduced them with his own hand from a larger to a smaller scale. One of his Holy Families, containing the figure of St. Elizabeth, I have met with in as many as ten collections, or even more: and some others in not less than three or four different dwellings. The picture of S. Lorenzo, with other saints, (at the Pitti palace,) I also found in the Albani gallery; the Visitation, I met with in the Giustiniani palace; the Nativity of the Virgin, (at the convent of the Servi,) I also saw in the possession of Signor Pirri, at Rome: all these are most beautiful little pieces,

* The artists here alluded to are, Jacone, Domenico Puligo, Domenico Conti, Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro, Nannoccio, Andrea Sguazzella, and even Pontormo himself.

all of them on small panels, all of ancient date, and all believed to be the work of Andrea. To me it seems not improbable that the best of the number were at least executed in his studio, and retouched by him, according to the plan pursued by Titian, and even by Raphael himself.

ROSSO.

Rosso, who wrought in competition with the best masters in the cloister of the Nunziata, and who, in the Assumption which he painted there, seems to have aimed less at producing a work superior in beauty than in size to those of all the others, ranks among the greatest painters of the Florentine school, although he had scarcely a single follower. Blessed with a creative fancy, he scorned to imitate any one, either among his own countrymen or foreigners; and, to say the truth, in him we recognise much originality of style—heads of a more spirited cast, head-dresses and other ornaments of a more tasteful kind, greater liveliness of colouring, a more imposing style of chiaroscuro, as well as greater boldness and freedom of pencilling, than had hitherto been witnessed at Florence. He seems, in short, to have introduced into that school a certain spirit that would have been altogether unexceptionable, had it not occasionally been combined with something of the extravagant. Such is the case with that Transfiguration of his at Città di Castello; where, at the bottom of the picture, instead of the Apostles, he has introduced, ridiculously enough to be sure, a troop of gipsies. There is, however, in the Pitti palace, a work of his wholly exempt from any such blemishes as this. This picture contains various Saints grouped in so admirable a manner, that the chiaroscuro of one figure contributes to the relief of another; it displays, too, such charming contrast of light and shade, such energy of design and attitude, that it never fails to rivet the attention of the spectator

by its novelty alone. Rosso likewise executed some pieces for various parts of the Florentine territory: in the oratory of S. Carlo at Volterra, may be seen an unfinished Descent from the Cross, of his execution; and another in the church of S. Chiara at Città S. Sepolcro, of which there is an old copy in the cathedral. Its chief merit arises from the principal group, and from that dusky and almost nocturnal hue, which gives to the whole piece an air of sombreness and truth not unworthy of the Flemish school. In Italy this painter's works are extremely scarce; inasmuch as he spent the best part of his time in France, in the service of Francis I., where he superintended the ornamental painting and stucco-work then carrying on at Fontainbleau. While engaged in this undertaking, he put an end to his existence by poison; and when the palace was about to be enlarged, many of his works were defaced by Primaticcio, his rival, and not his follower, as Cellini represents him. Thirteen of Rosso's paintings, dedicated to the life and glory of Francis I., and described by the Abbé Guget, in his "Memoir on the Royal Academy of France," escaped. Of these the one most worthy of remark is the Expulsion of Ignorance by that monarch —a picture of which there are at least three different engravings.

Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. Ridolfo, the son of Domenico Ghirlandaio, who lost his father at a very early age, was so thoroughly initiated in the mysteries of art, first by his paternal uncle Davide, and subsequently by Fra Bartolommeo, that Raphael himself, on his visit to Florence, became at once his admirer and his friend. When Raphael quitted that city, he left with Ghirlandaio a Madonna, intended for Siena, in order that it might be finished by him; and on going shortly afterwards to Rome, he invited him to become his coadjutor in the decorations of the Vatican. Unfortunately for his reputation, which might thus perhaps have equalled that of Giulio Romano, Ridolfo declined the invitation.

Nothing can be more in the manner of Raphael than some of the figures in Ridolfo's pictures; and the whole of them evince a skilfulness of composition, a vivacity of expression, a propriety of colouring, a degree of art in copying nature, and yet embellishing it by ideal charms, that would seem to argue maxims very nearly allied to those of that great master. That he did not afterwards make corresponding progress is to be ascribed to his not having seen his friend's best performances, as well as to his having, on arriving at maturity, in great measure desisted from the study of painting, in order to devote himself to mercantile pursuits. Hence, when he had once modernized his style, and by this means acquired some degree of reputation, he aimed at nothing further; and it was rather from the love he bore the art, than for the sake of a profession, that he afterwards continued to keep open a studio for painting. There he admitted artists of every description. Hence it is that many who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century are noticed by biographers as being either the scholars, or the companions, of this painter.

This auspicious epoch was not without producing a few good landscape painters; although as yet it was not much the fashion to paint mere landscapes detached from historical pieces.

Arabesques were brought into vogue by Morto da Feltro and Giovanni da Udine. Both these had visited Florence, and had executed some works there; especially the latter, who was employed by the Medicean family to decorate their palace and the chapel of S. Lorenzo. By Morto this art was communicated to Andrea, sometimes called Andrea di Cosimo, from having been Rosselli's scholar, but more frequently Feltrini, or perhaps Feltrino, from his more known master.

During the fifteenth century perspective was not cultivated in Italy, except in so far as it was subservient to historical painting; and in that branch of it the later masters of the Ve-

netian and Lombard schools distinguished themselves no less than those of Florence and Rome. After this period, artists began to make it a separate branch; representing arches, colonnades, porticos, and every other kind of ornamental architecture in pictures appropriated to such subjects, to the great embellishment of theatrical representations, as well as of religious and other festivities. One of the first who devoted himself to this pursuit was Bastiano di Sangallo, nephew of Giuliano and Antonio Sangallo, and brother of another Antonio Sangallo, all three of them celebrated architects. Bastiano, from certain lectures on anatomy and perspective, which he delivered with the acuteness and authoritative air of a philosopher, was nicknamed Aristotile. Possessing no great talent for invention, he devoted himself entirely to perspective, which he had learnt of Bramante at Rome; and which he cultivated during that period when magnificent funeral ceremonies and congratulatory festivities were of frequent occurrence at Florence. The most memorable were those which were celebrated in 1513, on the election of Leo X., and those which, on his visit to Florence in 1515, were got up to welcome his arrival. Thither he had brought with him M. Angelo, Raphael, and other artists, for the purpose of deliberating on the façade of S. Lorenzo, and various other works which he meditated; and these his attendants added to the magnificence of the spectacle. Meanwhile, Florence became, as it were, a new city. What noble arches were then thrown across the streets by Granacci and Rosso! What splendid temples and novel façades were designed there by Antonio da Sangallo and Jacopo Sansovino! What beautiful chiaroscuros were prepared by Andrea del Sarto!—what arabesques by Feltrino! what relievos and statues and colossal figures by the same Sansovino, by Rustici, and Bandinelli! With what exquisite taste did Ghirlandaio, Pontormo, Franciabigio, and Ubertini, adorn the residence of the Pontiff! To say nothing

of a crowd of inferior artists: who, indeed, in any other age, so far from being considered inferior, would have risen into eminence.

Such spectacles became afterwards more familiar to the Florentines; for the Medici, like the Roman Emperors, at the outset of their sway over a people whom they feared, affected popularity by promoting public festivities. Hence, not only on extraordinary occasions, such as the elevation of Clement VII. to the Papacy—that of Alexander and Cosmo to the sovereignty of their country—the marriage of the latter, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici—and the arrival of Charles V.; not only on such occasions as these, but not unfrequently at other times, they set on foot tournaments, masquerades, plays, and pageants, of which the decorations—such as the painted cars, dresses, and scenery—were of the most costly description. This passionate pursuit of objects, all of which required to be set off by exquisite embellishment, gave a stimulus to industry, and called into being a crowd of painters, and other ornamental artists. Aristotile, to return to him, was always in most request; his perspectives were sought after in the public streets; his scenes, in the theatre. The populace, not yet familiarized with such ocular deceptions, were struck with wonder: it seemed to them as if they could actually mount the steps, enter the edifices, and make their way to the balconies and windows, represented in his pictures.

Before I pass on to the next epoch, it is fit I should say something of the invention of painting on glass, which is also styled mosaic; inasmuch as pictures of this sort consist of pieces of glass differently coloured, and connected together by pieces of lead, which produce the shadows. There are some windows to be met with which are scarcely inferior to well-executed paintings on canvass and panel. From the preface to the treatise " De omni scientiâ artis pingendi," by Theofilus the Monk,

I find that, in his days, France took the lead of every other nation in this branch of art. By the French, too, it seems to have been constantly cultivated, to have been brought by degrees to perfection, and to have been spread into other countries. The Italians, from the earliest period of the revival of painting, formed windows of pieces of painted glass, on which historical subjects were represented in different colours; as P. Angeli observes in his description of the basilica of Assisi, which still retains some very ancient specimens. So also in the Franciscan church at Venice, we find that one *Frate Theotonius*, a German, executed both tapestries and painted glass windows, and that he was afterwards imitated by one Marco, a painter, who flourished in 1335. It is also worthy of remark, that windows of this kind, situated, as they were, aloft behind the altar, before altar-pieces and fresco-paintings were known, served instead of such sacred pictures; for the people, lifting up their eyes towards them, there sought the likenesses of those "whom still they hope one day to see in heaven"—che ancor lassù in Ciel vedere spera—and turned to them while offering up their prayers.

During the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Ghiberti, a man who deserved well of many of the arts, succeeded also in improving this; and to him we are indebted for the painted oriel windows in the façades of the church of St. Francis and the Florentine cathedral: in like manner, all the round windows in the cupola of the cathedral are the work of his hand, excepting only that of the Assumption, which is the work of Donatello. This art afterwards flourished at Arezzo, whither it was carried by Parri Spinelli, a scholar of Ghiberti's. About the same time, the Padre D. Francesco flourished at Perugia, who not only painted on glass, but also opened a school in that city. The same art revived again at Venice about the year 1473, where, at the church of St. John and St. Paul, a window was executed after

designs by Bartolommeo Vivarini, as well as another at Murano: nor, indeed, could the art of painting on glass be expected to go into disuse in a city where it may be said to have been cradled.

True it is, that, in process of time, the Venetian and Florentine glass appeared too opaque for the purpose; and hence that of France and England was preferred to it, whose clearness and transparency were better fitted to receive the different colours, without too much intercepting the rays of light. It seemed good also to substitute, instead of colours shielded by gums and other vehicles, such as were burnt in, after the manner described by Vasari: whence such pictures not only acquired greater brilliancy, but became more capable of withstanding the inclemency of the weather. This invention must be ascribed to the Flemings, or rather to the French; and from the French we most assuredly received it.

Florentine School.

EPOCH III.

MICHAEL ANGELO'S IMITATORS.

After the five great masters above recorded, the Florentines were so rich in the finer specimens of art, that they had no great occasion to have recourse to foreign schools for improvement, but only to select what was best in the works of their own artists. M. Angelo, for instance, would afford them an example of the grand, Andrea of the graceful, and Rosso of the spirited style; nor could they better learn the art of colouring, and the proper disposition of the drapery, than from Baccio della Porta, nor that of chiaroscuro than from Da Vinci. They seem, however, to have turned all their thoughts to the study of design, while they paid little attention to the other departments of the art. Nay, even in this branch of it, they thought that every thing was to be found in Bonarruoti; and ran, as it were, after him alone. In this their choice, they were biassed by the great reputation, the brilliant success, and very long life of that artist, who, having survived all the more eminent of his fellow-citizens, recommended to employment—as indeed was very natural—those who adopted his maxims and ranged themselves under his banner: whence the saying, that, as regarded the progress of the fine arts, Raphael's life had been too short, M. Angelo's too long.

The sole study and constant object of his followers was to design his statues; for the cartoon, on which so many distinguished masters had formed their style, was already lost, and his paintings were to be met with at Rome, not at Florence. Hence they transferred to their own compositions that statue-like

rigidity, that exaggerated strength of limb, that affected display of anatomical knowledge in the insertion and developement of the muscles, that austerity of look, and that vivacity of attitude, which form the distinguishing character of his severe style. But not thoroughly comprehending the principles embraced by that inimitable man, nor thoroughly understanding the play of the softer parts—the cellular substance—of the human frame, they were easily betrayed into error: either inserting the muscles in improper situations, or giving an equal degree of prominence to those of a person in action, and those of one at rest; those of a slender stripling, and those of a full-grown man. Content with what thus passed with them for grandeur of style, they cared but little for any thing else. In some of their pictures you will meet with a crowd of figures placed one above another, in what plane it would be hard to say—heads that have no meaning, and half-naked figures that do nothing but pompously display, like the Entellus of Virgil, "magna ossa lacertosque." The beautiful azures and greens formerly employed, you will see replaced by a languid yellowish hue; the full body of colour, by superficial tints; and, above all, you will find the bold relief, so much studied till the time of Andrea, now wholly gone into disuse.

Baldinucci has, in several passages, acknowledged this decline; which, however, scarcely extended beyond two or three generations, and seems to have commenced about the year 1540. Not that the Florentine, even during this less auspicious period, sunk into such a state of negligence as certain other schools. The churches abound with pictures executed at this period, which, if they fail to excite our admiration like those of the preceding era, are at least respectable. Whoever visits the church of S. Croce, that of S. Maria Novella, and other places where the artists of that epoch were employed, will most assuredly find more there to commend than to condemn. Few of the artists of this period evince much merit in colouring, but

many in design; few are altogether exempt from the mannerism above described: in process of time, however, many improved upon it, and attained a more graceful style.

VASARI.

Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo, has been charged with being one of the principal causes of this decline in art. M. Angelo, Andrea, and others, instructed him in the art of design; Priore and Rosso initiated him in that of painting; but the chief seat of his studies was Rome, whither he was taken by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, to whom he owed all his success; for it was through him that Vasari was afterwards patronized by the Medici family, who loaded him with riches and honour. At Rome, after having designed all that he met with there of the works of M. Angelo and Raphael, as well as many of those of other schools, and the remains of ancient sculpture, he formed a style in which we may trace vestiges of such studies, though in it he betrays an evident predilection for Bonarruoti. Having become expert as an historical painter, he next turned his attention to architecture, and became, indeed, one of the most eminent architects of his day; combining in his own person those various accomplishments, which (after the example of Raphael) Perino, Giulio Romano, and their scholars, had made it their business to acquire. For, like them, Vasari was not only capable of presiding over the building of a noble edifice, but also of superintending the internal decorations—the historical pieces, the arabesques, the landscapes, the stuccos, the gilding, and whatever else was necessary to set it off in a princely manner. By this means he began to grow into repute in Italy, and was engaged in his capacity of painter at various places, and even at Rome itself; where the more considerable

of his works at that place are to be found in various parts of the Vatican, and in the Sala of the Chancery. These latter are the fresco-paintings from the life of Paul III., which were ordered by Cardinal Farnese: from which also he conceived the idea of getting him to write his Lives of the Painters, published afterwards at Florence. Brought into repute by these works, backed by the esteem and friendship of Bonarruoti, and recommended by the variety of his accomplishments, he was invited by Cosmo I. to his court. Thither he repaired with his family in 1553, by which time the artists hitherto noticed being either dead or advanced in years, he had but little to fear from competition. He superintended the noble works ordered by that prince: among which it would be unpardonable not to notice the erection of the *Uffizi*, reckoned one of the best works of the kind in Italy, as well as the Palazzo Vecchio, with its various subdivisions, all of them painted and embellished by Vasari and his scholars in a style worthy the residence of a prince. There is one of these divisions, where each room receives its name from some distinguished member of the family, whose exploits it represents. This is one of Vasari's best performances; and of this the part most deserving notice is the chamber of Clement VII., on the ceiling of which he represented that pontiff in the act of crowning Charles V.: depicting in other parts his virtues, his victories, and his most remarkable achievements—a work in which the magnificence of the prince is rivalled by the judgment and taste of the artist.

It remains for us to say something of the merit of this artist, of whom so much has been written either in praise or blame, by all who have for the last two centuries undertaken to treat of the fine arts, especially in Italy. Did there exist no other works of his save those in the Palazzo Vecchio—the Conception in S. Apostolo, at Florence, lauded by Borghini as his best performance—the Head of John the Baptist, in the church of that name at Rome, which is set off by exquisite perspective

—the Supper of Ahasuerus, in the possession of the Benedictines, at Arezzo—some few of his portraits, which Bottari scrupled not to call worthy of Giorgione—and certain other pictures in which he chose to put forth his ability—his reputation would be much greater than it is. But he aimed at doing too much; and for the most part preferred dispatch to accuracy of finish. Hence, notwithstanding his expertness in design, his figures are not always correct; and the painting not unfrequently appears languid, from the inferior quality of the colours and the sparing manner in which they are laid on. Now, as Vasari for a long time presided over the works which, by the direction of Cosmo I. and the Prince D. Francesco, were carried on in the capital, and had moreover a number of youthful artists for his coadjutors in those works, it is Baldinucci's opinion that he mainly contributed to introduce that harshness of style which prevailed at Florence.

SALVIATI.

Salviati (who was for some time with Andrea del Sarto) and Bronzino, the scholar of Pontormo, were contemporaries of Vasari's; and, like him, led by the natural bent of their genius to imitate M. Angelo. Francesco de' Rossi, who, from the surname of his patrons, is also styled Francesco de' Salviati, was a fellow-student of Vasari's under Andrea del Sarto and Baccio Bandinelli. This latter, who was an eminent sculptor, was in the habit of giving lessons in design to such as were studying painting—an art which, like Verrocchio, he sometimes cultivated for his own amusement. Hence, Salviati, by spending a considerable time at Rome on terms of intimacy, and almost of brotherly love, with Vasari, was led to pursue the same studies, and to adopt, in the main, the same maxims. He became at length a painter of a more chaste, elevated, and spirited charac-

ter than his companion; and Vasari himself eulogizes him as the best painter of his day at Rome. He there wrought in various places, covering spacious walls with large historical frescos—the works of which he was most fond. He was endowed with great fertility of invention, and displayed both variety in his composition, and grandeur in his architectural ornaments—one of the few who have combined quickness of execution with depth of design; in which latter quality he was eminently skilled, though sometimes a little extravagant. The Battle and Triumph of Furius Camillus, in the Saloon of the Palazzo Vecchio—a work replete with spirit, and one which, as regards the armour, the dresses, and all the usages of ancient Rome, might pass for the performance of an accomplished antiquarian—is the best painting of his that now exists in his native place. There is also, at S. Croce, an altar-piece of his, representing a Descent from the Cross—a subject which was familiar to him, and of which specimens may be seen in the Panfili palace, at Rome; in the church of Corpus Domini, at Venice; and in one or two private collections, where his Holy Families and portraits are by no means rare. The octangular picture at the Grimani palace, representing Psyche, is a work of considerable celebrity, and described by Vasari "as the most beautiful painting in all Venice." His verdict would have been more impartial had he called it the most profound in design; but that this picture should pass for a Helen in such a city as Venice, is what no one surely will admit. The features of Psyche are certainly not remarkable for beauty; and the story itself, though well conceived, and embellished with a pretty landscape, and a pretty templet, cannot compare with the fascination of Titian's or Paul Veronese's works; where, as Dante would say, we may sometimes almost fancy we behold "all nature decked in smiles"—*un riso dell' universo*. Salviati evinced much more skill in design than in colouring; and hence, I suspect, it was, that he both failed to make his fortune, and, when he was after-

wards induced to visit Paris, was held in little repute, and that his works are also at the present day much less in request, and sold at a much lower rate than those of Titian and Paolo. It would seem that in the arts which minister to our delight, such as poetry and painting, mankind are more ready to put up with mediocrity of learning, than with mediocrity in the power of conferring pleasure. There is great truth in that observation of Salvator Rosa's, who, when asked whether colouring or design were the more to be prized, replied, that he had met with many *Santi di Titos* exposed to sale at a very low price, but had never met with a single *Bassan*.

Angiolo Bronzino was another of Vasari's intimates, and, from the gracefulness of his heads, and the beauty of his compositions, was looked upon as one of the most distinguished among them. He also ranks among poets. His poems were printed with those of Berni; and some of his letters on painting may be seen in Bottari's collection. Although he was a scholar and an imitator of Pontormo's, we still recognise in him the master of the present epoch. Much praise has been bestowed on his frescos in a chapel at the Palazzo Vecchio, where he has represented the Raining down of the Manna and the Plague of Serpents—pieces replete with truth and spirit, though the pictures on the roof, which are deemed faulty in point of perspective, do not correspond with them. The Florentine churches contain various altar-pieces of his, among which there are some that have but little merit, with angels whose beauty is of a character too soft and feminine. On the other hand, there are some very beautiful ones, as the Pietà at S. Maria Nuova, and more especially the Limbo, at S. Croce, over the altar appertaining to the Riccasoli family. This picture, indeed, is better fitted for an academy of design, than for the altar of a church: but its author was too much prepossessed in favour of M. Angelo not to be ready to imitate him even in this fault. The different galleries of Italy are rich in his portraits, which would deserve com-

mendation for their truth and spirit, were it not that their merit is not unfrequently impaired by the colouring of his fleshes, which are sometimes of a leaden, sometimes of a too pallid hue, and tinged by a red which looks like rouge. The colour, however, which usually predominates in his paintings is of a yellowish cast; and the principal objection brought against his works is the want of relief.

Alessandro Allori, the scholar and nephew of Bronzino, is held to be inferior to his uncle. Devoting himself almost exclusively to anatomy, of which he afforded some beautiful specimens in the tribune of the church of the Servi, and on which he wrote a treatise for the use of painters, he paid but too little attention to the other branches of the art. In the Ducal Gallery, however, there is a Sacrifice of Isaac, coloured almost in the Flemish style. Of his merit in expression, we have a proof in an altar-piece of his at S. Spirito, representing the Woman taken in Adultery. He was also expert at portrait-painting, though this faculty he sometimes abused, by introducing, into subjects taken from ancient story, the portraits of individuals arrayed in the costume of the moderns; a fault not unusual at that period. His talents seem, in short, to have been equally adapted to every department of painting; but being unequally cultivated, they were of couse unequally developed. He painted a good deal for foreigners, and enjoyed the esteem of the Medicean princes, who engaged him to finish the frescos commenced at Poggio a Caiano by Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, and Pontormo; and left, some in a more, some in a less imperfect state. Opposite to these he also executed a few from designs of his own; such as the Gardens of the Hesperides, the Supper of Syphax and Titus Flaminus, where the latter discountenances the league between the Œtolians and Achaians—subjects which, like the Cæsar and the Cicero, were emblematical of similar events in the history of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici.

Santi Titi, a native of Città S. Sepolcro, the scholar of

Bronzino and Cellini, studied for a long time at Rome, from whence he brought away with him a style in the highest degree tasteful and elegant. His style of beauty has not much of the ideal in it; but he has imparted to his heads a certain plumpness, a certain appearance of freshness and health, that makes him second to none of those who copy from nature. In point of design, which was his *forte*, he was, as we have already observed, eulogized and instanced as a model by Salvator Rosa. Expression is another point in which he has but few superiors in other schools, and not one in his own. He is also happy in his decorations; for having attained some reputation as an architect, he was enabled to introduce perspectives, which add much to the majesty and fascination of his compositions. He passes for the best painter of this third epoch, and belongs to it rather from the period at which he lived, than from his style; except, indeed, as regards the colouring, which is for the most part very languid and deficient in relief. Borghini, who criticises and defends him at the same time, tells us that he was not wanting even in this respect, when he chose to pay attention to it; and it would seem that he really did pay attention to it—in the Supper at Emmaus, in the church of S. Croce, at Florence—in the Resurrection of Lazarus, in the cathedral of Volterra—and in a picture at Città di Castello, in which he represented the Faithful receiving the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the Apostles' hands; a picture which, even after the three *Raphaels* that adorn that city, may yet be contemplated with pleasure.

Antonio Tempesti. One of the first in Italy, who gained a reputation for landscapes and battle-pieces, was Antonio Tempesti, a Florentine, the scholar of Stradano, rather than of Titi. He painted but few large pieces, and those few are not very happily executed; the greater portion of his pictures are on a small scale. The Niccolini family, the Padri della Nunziata, and others at Florence, have battle-pieces of his painted on ala-

baster, in which he seemed to pave the way for Borgognone, who is said to have attentively studied his works. He painted most frequently in fresco, as at Caprarola, the Villa d' Este at Tivoli, and various places at Rome, as early as the time of Gregory XIII. A great part of the historical pieces in the Gallery of the Vatican is the work of his hand: the figures are a palm and a half long; and so numerous, diversified, and animated are they—so well set off with all the charms of architecture, as well as by little landscapes and decorations of every kind, that it is altogether a most admirable performance. His style is not the most chaste, and his colouring sometimes degenerates into the dingy; but we readily overlook all his faults in consideration of that fervour which possesses him, and that creative fancy which lifts him above the earth, and bears him aloft through unknown regions, prohibited to the vulgar herd of artists*.

* One of the principal painters omitted in this third epoch is Poccetti, sometimes called the Paolo Veronese of the Florentine school.

Florentine School.

EPOCH IV.

CIGOLI AND HIS ASSOCIATES BRING ABOUT AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE ART.

WHILE the Florentines looked solely to M. Angelo and his most accredited imitators as their models, they fell into the same fault as the poets of the fifteenth century, who looked up to Petrarch, and Petrarch's followers alone—they contracted a marked similarity of style, differing from each other only according to their individual talents and genius. At length, about the year 1580, the time arrived, when they began to depart from the models afforded by their own countrymen, in order to imitate those of foreigners; and then it was that the Florentine style became vigorous and varied. This change was brought about by two young painters, Lodovico Cigoli and Gregorio Pagani. These youths, as Baldinucci informs us, attracted by the fame of Barocci, and the celebrity of a picture of his which he had then recently forwarded from Urbino to Arezzo, and which is now in the Ducal Gallery at Florence, set out together to look at it; and having examined it with the most scrupulous attention, became so enamoured of its style, that they forthwith renounced that of their own masters. These two were afterwards joined by Passignano; and, in imitation of their example, other youths were induced to abandon the old method and adopt a more vigorous style; as was more especially the case with Empoli, Curradi, and certain others. These were succeeded by Cristofano Allori and Rosselli, who in turn transmitted the new style to their scholars.

Still, however, they were not so much the followers of Barocci, as of Coreggio, the model of Barocci. Unable to undertake a journey into Lombardy, they set themselves to study the few copies of his works, and the still fewer originals, that were to be found at Florence, with a view more especially of catching his felicity in the management of light and shade—a branch of the art at that time almost wholly neglected at Florence, and even at Rome. Hence, by degrees, the art of modelling in chalk and wax was revived; recourse was had to paste or stucco; the effects of light and shade were more carefully observed; and less deference was paid to prescription, and more to nature. Thus arose a new style, which, in my opinion, may be ranked among the most perfect ever attempted in Italy; combining the correctness of the Florentine, with the softness and relief of the Lombard school. Had but a little more attention been paid to elegance of contour and accuracy of expression, the reform which about this period took place in painting would be no less ascribable to Florence than to Bologna.

Having noticed what was most deserving of commendation in the style of this period, we must not omit to mention what was less praiseworthy; and that was a sombreness of colouring then too much in vogue, and which, at the present day, renders many of the pictures of that age of little or no value. This fault is attributed to the method of laying on the grounds, which had every where undergone a change for the worse: whence it is that this fault is not confined to the Florentines, but found to extend throughout the whole of Italy. But besides this, the defect arose partly from the rage for chiaroscuro which then prevailed. It is the characteristic of every school of any standing to carry to excess the leading maxims of its founder. This, as regards painting, we have already noticed in the preceding epoch—this we shall have to notice in every succeeding one—and this, were it worth while, we might also prove to be the case in literature

—the corruption of taste arising, in fact, from nothing else but the carrying of a sound maxim to excess.

LODOVICO CARDI DA CIGOLI.

Cigoli, the scholar of Santi di Tito, to judge of him from his existing works, appears successfully to have imitated Coreggio in the management of chiaroscuro, and to have combined with it an accuracy of design, a judiciousness of perspective, and a vivacity of colouring, beyond the rest of his countrymen, among whom he unquestionably holds one of the foremost ranks. In his pictures, however, we meet not with that contrast, strength, and clearness of colouring, nor with that gracefulness in the foreshortenings and features, which form the distinguishing character of the great founder of the Lombard school. In a word, he was the inventor of a style, original, and always beautiful, but somewhat unequal; especially if we compare his earlier works with those he executed after having visited Rome. His colouring, for the most part, savours of the Lombard school; occasionally his draperies betray something of Paul Veronese's method; and, not unfrequently, his manner might be compared with the bolder style of Guercino.

Besides the many pictures of his in the possession of the Grand Duke and the noble family of Pecori, there are also some, though no great number, in the hands of private individuals. His picture of the Trinity, at S. Croce; the S. Alberto, at S. Maria Maggiore; and the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in the possession of the nuns of Monte Domini, and looked upon by Pietro da Cortona as one of the finest altar-pieces at Florence, are all in very high repute. Of equal merit is the altar-piece which he executed for the church of the Conventuals, at Cortona,

there he represented St. Anthony in the act of Converting a Heretic by the miraculous circumstance of a Mule kneeling during the celebration of Mass—a picture which usually passes for the best in that highly-decorated city. In the Vatican there is a picture of his representing St. Peter restoring the Lame Man to the use of his limbs—an admirable performance, which, after Raphael's Transfiguration, and Domenichino's St. Jerome, Sacchi esteemed the third best picture in Rome: and well may the Florentine school be proud of the panegyric, conferred, as it was, by a profound connoisseur, and one by no means prodigal of praise. But this master-piece, which gained him the rank of a Cavalier, has, owing to the dampness of the church, the defective nature of the *imprimitura*, or ground, and the unskilfulness of the person who took upon him to clean it, been utterly ruined. On the other hand, there still exists a fresco-painting of his in one of the chapels of S. Maria Maggiore, at Rome; and in this, owing to some oversight in point of perspective—which, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties, he was not permitted to correct—he appears to great disadvantage. Fortune seems, in some sort, to have persecuted this great man. Had the above-mentioned fresco perished, and the oil-painting in question come down uninjured to our days, Cigoli would have enjoyed a higher reputation, and Baldinucci, his encomiast, have gained greater credit.

Gregorio Pagani was initiated in the rudiments of art by Titi; and was led to adopt a better method by Cigoli. By foreigners he was eulogized as a second Cigoli, so long as his native place could boast the possession of a work of his at the Carmine, representing the Finding of the Cross—a work which has been honoured with an engraving. But the picture having perished in the fire that consumed the church, there no longer remains any considerable work of his in public, with the exception of a fresco or two, one of which may be seen in the cloister of S. Maria Novella, which, though it has sustained some

injury from time, is far from doing him any discredit. In the Florentine collections he is rarely to be met with, he having executed a great many works for foreign states.

Passignano. Another of Cigoli's companions was Domenico da Passignano, the scholar of Naldini and Federico Zuccaro, the latter of whom he most resembles in point of style. Having spent a considerable time at Venice, where he also took to himself a wife, he became a warm admirer of the Venetian school, and used to say, that no man, who had not seen Venice, could justly flatter himself with being a painter. This serves sufficiently to account for his style, which is neither the most studied, nor the most correct; it is, however, of an elevated character, enriched, like Paul Veronese's works, with architectural ornaments and splendid drapery, more than that of any other Florentine; sometimes resembling Tintoretto's in point of movement, as well as, unfortunately, in the excessive oiliness of the colouring—a circumstance to which we may attribute the loss of many of the works of both these masters.

Cristofano Allori, who, in consequence of adopting the maxims of the three artists above commended, lived continually at variance with Alessandro, his father and master, is, in the opinion of many, the greatest painter of this epoch. When I reflect on the excellence to which he attained in the course of a life by no means long, I can hardly help looking upon him as the Cantarini of his school. These two artists, moreover, bear no little resemblance to each other in the beauty, gracefulness, and finish of their figures, save that Cantarini is more ideal in his style of beauty, Cristofano more happy in the colouring of his fleshes. And this latter is the more extraordinary, inasmuch as Cristofano knew nothing either of the Caracci or of Guido, supplying the want by the nicety of his discernment, and the pertinacity of his application; for he never desisted from his task till his hand had completely embodied the conceptions of his mind. Owing to this circumstance, and to the vices which

often diverted him from his works, his pictures are extremely scarce, and he himself but too little known. The S. Giuliano of the Pitti palace is the noblest monument of his genius; and if it cannot be placed among the foremost in that celebrated collection, it at least holds the first rank among those of second-rate merit.

CARLO DOLCI.

Dolci is in the Florentine, what Sassoferrato is in the Roman school. Both the one and the other, without possessing any great powers of invention, grew into very high repute for Madonnas and other works on a small scale, which now fetch enormous prices; for the great, ambitious of having in their oratories pictures at once precious in themselves and of a religious cast, are frequent in their inquiries after the works of those two masters, notwithstanding that they pursued very different paths. Carlo Dolci is not so celebrated for the beauty of his performances—for, like his master, Jacopo Vignali, he was content to copy nature as he found her—as for their exquisite finish, and the genuine expression of certain devout affections; such as the patient suffering of the Saviour, or the Virgin; the penitential compunction of a Saint; or the holy exultation of a Martyr, offering himself up as a victim in the cause of the living God. The colouring and general tone of his pictures are in unison with the feelings he undertakes to express: there is no attempt at shew or ostentation; all is modesty, repose, and placid harmony. In him we recognise the manner of Rosselli, though improved upon; just as we can sometimes recognise the features of the grandsire in those of his descendant. There still exist some few works of his on a large scale, such as the St. Anthony, in the Royal Museum; the Conception, in the possession of the Rinuccini family; the Evangelists, in that of the Riccardi;

some few pictures from profane story, some few portraits, and the celebrated figure of Poetry in the Corsini palace. His small pictures, for each of which he usually received a hundred crowns, are exceedingly numerous; having been often repeated by himself; sometimes, too, by his scholars, Alessandro Lomi and Bartolommeo Manciñi; and not unfrequently by his daughter, Agnese Dolci, who successfully imitated her father's style, though she could not equal it. The two Madonnas of his, in the possession of the Grand Duke, and the Martyrdom of St. Andrew, belonging to the Marquis Gerini, have been very frequently copied*.

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* The more distinguished painters omitted under this fourth epoch, are Jacopo Empoli—Matteo Rosselli—Giovanni da S. Giovanni—Baldassare Franceschini, sometimes styled Volterrano—Lorenzo Lippi—Jacopo Ligozzi—Aurelio Lomi—the two Gentileschi—the two Riminaldi—Pietro Paolini—and Pietro Testa.

Florentine School.

EPOCH V.

THE CORTONESCHI.

After the middle of the seventeenth century, the Florentine and Roman schools underwent a remarkable change, brought about by the numbers who adopted Pietro da Cortona's style. It is with painting as with philosophy: one sect succeeds another, and the new-fangled maxims are propagated more or less rapidly, according to the different degrees of opposition they happen to encounter in the different states where it is proposed to disseminate them. Pietro da Cortona's style was not received without considerable opposition at Rome. He was subsequently invited to Florence by Ferdinand II., about the year 1640, for the purpose of decorating some of the apartments of the Pitti palace; and this work, on which he spent several years, proved, in the opinion of connoisseurs, the most beautiful he ever executed. In one of these apartments he represented the five ages of the world: five others were, as one might say, dedicated to five of the heathen deities, Minerva, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Mercury; and were accordingly called by their respective names. In each chamber he blended mythology with history: for example, on the ceiling in the chamber of Apollo, he depicted this patron of the fine arts in the act of welcoming the youthful Hercules, whom Minerva presents to him that he may have the benefit of his instructions; while, on the walls, he represented Alexander reading the works of Homer, Augustus listening to those of Virgil, and other similar stories. This great work was completed by Ciro Ferri; for his master Cortona, after having begun the chamber of Mercury, from some cause

of disgust which is differently accounted for, adroitly withdrew from court, returned to Rome, and though repeatedly invited, could never be prevailed upon to revisit Florence. In that city, however, he had already laid the foundation of a new school. Baldinucci tells us that, at Florence, to see and admire Pietro's style, was, even with the more eminent artists, one and the same thing. The choice made by Cosmo III., who granted a pension to Ciro Ferri, while at Rome, on condition of his affording instruction to such Tuscans as were prosecuting their studies there, afterwards contributed to give it vogue. From that period there was scarcely any Tuscan artist who did not, more or less, adopt Cortona's style. It is fit that we should now describe it, and trace it to its source.

PIETRO DA CORTONA.

Pietro Berrettini, a native of Cortona, the scholar of Comodi in Tuscany and of Ciarpi at Rome, and noticed also among the writers on painting, formed his style of design by copying the old relievos, and the chiaroscuros of Polidoro—a man who almost seems to have been animated by the soul of one of the ancients. It is said that Trajan's column was Cortona's favourite model; and that from thence he derived that tendency to heaviness in his proportions, and that strength and robustness observable even in his female and infantine figures; in the eyes, noses, and lips of which he usually exceeded the middle size—to say nothing of the hands and feet, which assuredly are not remarkable for elegance. But the art of contrast—the art of opposing group to group, figure to figure, and part to part—in which he attained the highest eminence, he appears to have derived from Lanfranco; though partly perhaps from those Bacchanalian sarcophagi which Passeri parti-

cularly notices in his life. The Venetian school, too, may perhaps have had some share in forming his taste; since—if we may credit Boschini, a professed admirer of his—having gone thither to prosecute his studies, he " afterwards, on his return to Rome, caused all that he had previously executed at the Barberini palace to be defaced, and painted those works afresh." For the rest, he seldom displays any great degree of finish, except in the more prominent parts; he avoids strong shadows, delights in middle tints, prefers the darker grounds, colours without affectation, and passes for the founder and greatest ornament of a style, which, according to the verdict of Mengs, combines facility with taste. In works on a larger scale, and yet more in those on ceilings, cupolas, and recesses, *(sfondi,)* he carried it to a pitch of beauty, which can never fail to procure him panegyrists and imitators. That expertness of grouping, which, with the help of architecture, he displays in all his historical pieces; that skilfulness in aerial perspective, by which he contrives to give an idea of the immensity of space above the clouds; that address in the art of foreshortening on ceilings; that play of seemingly celestial light; that symmetry in the disposition of his figures—all these form a combination of beauties which fascinate the eye and expand the soul.

True it is that this style does not always equally satisfy the understanding; inasmuch as, intent on captivating the eye, it brings unnecessary actors upon the stage, to the end that the composition may not be deficient in the accustomed fulness; and inasmuch as, with a view to contrast, the personages of the piece are made to attitudinize, even in the performance of the gentlest actions, as if they were engaged in a tournament or a battle. Berrettini, whom nature had blessed with a depth of judgment equal to his facility of execution, either steered altogether clear of such extravagancies, as in his stupendous Conversion of St. Paul, at Rome; or at least did not carry them to that excess, to which, from the usual tendency of every school

to overcharge the peculiarities of its founder, they have in our days been carried by his followers. For hence, the easy style degenerated into the negligent, the tasteful into the affected; till at length, even the schools which adhered to it the most, begin now to abandon it, and pursue a surer method.

Sienese School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

THE Sienese School may be called the sprightly school of a sprightly people; possessing such fascination from the judicious selection of its colours, and the graceful air of its heads, that foreigners have sometimes been so much taken with it, as even to prefer it to the Florentine. This preference, however, is not attributable solely to the sprightliness of manner above mentioned; but in part to a circumstance that has been observed by few, and never brought forward by any. All the best works of the Sienese painters are to be met with in public in the different churches of Siena; and whoever happens to have examined these has no great need—in order to form an opinion of those painters—to inspect the private collections, which are both numerous and well stocked. At Florence it is otherwise: none of Da Vinci's, Bonarruoti's, or Rosso's pictures, are to be seen in public; none of the finest works of Andrea or Fra Bartolommeo; and but few even of such others as have best sustained the reputation of the school: a great proportion of the churches abounds in pictures of the third and fifth epochs; respectable certainly, but not calculated to awaken such admiration as those of the Razzi, the Vanni, and other celebrated artists, to be found at every step in Siena. A comparison between the two schools has been instituted by Della Valle; and his decision seems to be, that the Florentine painters are the most philosophical, the Sienese the most poetical. On this subject he observes, that the Sienese school, even from its very outset, displays a peculiar talent for invention; animating the stories it undertakes to represent with ideas of a

lively and novel character; filling them with allegorical imagery, and investing them with all the life and spirit of a well-constructed poem. He further observes, that those painters applied themselves more especially to expression. Nor was the cultivation of this branch of art a matter of difficulty in a city so averse to dissimulation as Siena; where, both from education and natural disposition, the tongue and the countenance are apt to give uncontrolled utterance to the emotions of the mind. This same vivacity of temper may, perhaps, have prevented them from attaining to any great eminence in design, which is not the *forte* of those masters, as it may be said to be of the Florentines. For the rest, the Sienese school does not possess a character for originality equal to that of some others; and, as we shall see in the sequel, its artists have, even during its most flourishing period, distinguished themselves by imitating, some one style, some another. As to the number of painters Siena has produced, these have been found to vary directly as its population: so long as it boasted a large population, it boasted also a number of artists; but with the diminution of the former, the number of those who cultivated the fine arts also decreased, till at length every vestige of a school was lost.

The accounts we have of the Sienese painters are somewhat confused as regards the first three centuries, in consequence of the frequent occurrence of such names as Mino, Lippi, Vanni, (abbreviations of Giacomino, Filippo, Giovanni,) and other proper names unaccompanied by the corresponding surname. The origin of the Sienese school has been deduced either from the Crusades in the East, whence one or two Greek painters may have been brought to Siena: or else from Pisa, whose first masters were, as we have said, natives of Greece. In a question of this kind every one must judge for himself; to me it seems that we have not sufficient data to decide the matter. Of this, however, I am sure, that Italy was never destitute of such painters as employed themselves on illuminations; and that

from these, even without the aid of Greeks, some of the schools of Italy took their rise. Artists of this kind were to be met with at Siena as early as the twelfth century.

The oldest pictures of the city, such as the Madonna delle Grazie, that of Tressa, that of Bethlehem, a St. Peter in the church of the same name, and a St. John the Baptist in that of S. Petronilla, accompanied by several little historical pieces, are thought to be of an earlier date than the year 1200; but it is by no means certain that they are the work of Italians, though from the inscriptions, the stucco ornaments, and the design, some have supposed them to be so.

The series of painters whose names have come down to us begins with Guido, or Guidone, whom we have already had occasion to mention at the beginning of this work. He flourished before Cimabue was born; and seems to have been at once an illuminator of books and a painter. Guido, it is admitted, departed not a little from the rude style of the Greeks, in that picture of the Virgin, placed in the chapel of the Malevolti family, at the church of S. Domenico, where he set the example—an example which, much to the advantage of the history of art, has frequently been imitated by other masters of the same school—of thus inscribing his name and the date of the picture:—

Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amœnis
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere pœnis.
An. 1221.

Me Guido da Siena painted,
In days by no disquiet tainted;
Whom may the lowly Jesus deign
To shield from every future pain.

In this venerable picture the countenance is of a very pleasing kind, and has nothing of that grim appearance which forms the distinguishing character of the Greeks: in the drapery, too, we recognise some vestiges of the modern manner. Still, how-

ever, Cimabue's two Madonnas at Florence, the one in the church of S. Trinità, the other in that of S. Maria Novella, are not inferior to it. On the contrary, in these latter we discern symptoms of the progress of art: the colouring is more lively; that of the fleshes more correct; the posture of the Infant Saviour's head more natural; and the accessories, such as the throne on which the Virgin is seated, and the *gloria* of Angels, in a better style.

In a manuscript in the library of Siena, we find the following memorandum, for the year 1289:—"Paid this twelfth day of August nineteen *lire* to Maestro Mino, the painter, who executed the picture of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by other Saints, in the Council Chamber of the Palazzo Pubblico, the balance, &c." This Mino—whom the manuscript styles Maestro Mino, and who must not, as has been supposed, be confounded with Fra Mino da Turrita—represented, in the above-mentioned picture, the Virgin with the Infant Saviour and a company of Angels, under a canopy supported by the Apostles and the patron Saints of the city. This work, whether we regard the size of the figures, the invention, or the distribution of the whole, is an extraordinary performance for that age: we cannot judge of it with so much certainty in other respects; inasmuch as it was restored by Simone da Siena in 1321; and moreover exhibits some such beautiful touches both in the heads and the drapery, as cannot but be ascribed to the restorer's hand. Here, then, we have at Siena an artist who had made some approaches to the modern style before the time of Giotto, who in 1289 was but thirteen years of age. This Mino, and Duccio, of whom we shall shortly have to speak, may doubtless have formed pupils equal to enter into competition with Giotto's scholars; and, supposing them to have enjoyed a long life, even to surpass Giotto himself. But there is no reason why, upon the strength of this picture, we should award the palm to the Sienese painters in preference to Cimabue. Mino or Minuccio first

becomes known to us when Cimabue was now already fifty years of age; and is only known to us by one single surviving work, and that neither of such magnitude nor so free from restoration, as the one at Assisi already described: the comparison therefore is unfair.

To this period also must we refer *Ugolino da Siena*, who died of mere old age in the year 1339; so that he must have been born previous to the year 1260. That he was initiated in the art at Siena seems to me not improbable, both because of the many masters who then flourished in that city, and because his colouring, as observable in his Madonna in the church of Orsanmichele at Florence, is in the style of the old Sienese school; neither of such a body nor so true to nature as that of Cimabue and the rest of the Florentines. Such is the only observation to which, in my opinion, we can attach much weight; depending as it does on the mechanical parts of the art, which differed with difference of place. As to the design of those early times, that every where savoured more or less of the Greek manner: and Ugolino was unfortunately but too tenacious of it.

Duccio di Boninsegna is another master who flourished at the same period. With regard to Duccio, Tizio has left us this flattering testimony: "Duccio of Siena, the foremost of his time among artists of this kind; from whose studio, as from another Trojan horse, there came forth many admirable painters." The phrase *his time* refers to the year 1311, when Giotto was at Avignon; and when, after the labour of three years, Duccio had completed that picture which still exists in the Casa dell' Opera, a picture which forms a sort of epoch in the annals of art. It was necessarily on a very large scale, being designed for the grand altar of the cathedral. On the side which faces the people, he depicted large figures of the Virgin and various Saints, and on that which fronts the choir, divided as it was into a variety of compartments, he represented

different subjects from the Gospel history, containing figures of a palm in length and in great number. Pius II., in his Annali Senesi, which were never published, tells us that it cost two thousand florins; while others say as many as three thousand; and this, not so much in consequence of what the painter received for it, as on account of the vast quantity of gilding and ultramarine lavished upon it. Its style, according to the general opinion, retains some vestiges of the Greek manner; it is, however, one of the most copious, as well as one of the best works of its time.

On coming to the renowned *Simone Memmi*, or Simon di Martino, the painter of Laura, and the friend of Petrarch—by whom he has been celebrated in two sonnets, of themselves enough to immortalize him—we find the details of history more copious. The poet has moreover eulogized him in his letters, in one of which he says—"I know of two admirable painters, Giotto of Florence, who of all modern artists enjoys the highest reputation, and Simon of Siena;" which was certainly not placing the latter on an equality with Giotto, to whom a double share of praise is assigned, but representing him as next in merit after him. I cannot think that, on so opportune an occasion, he would have omitted to add that he was *Iocti discipulum*, "a scholar of Giotto's," had he been aware that such was the case: but he seems to have been ignorant of it; and this leads us to doubt whether he really did study under Giotto at Rome, however positively Vasari may assert this to have been the case, and that it was then that the mosaic of the Navicella was executed. The Sienese dispute this point, and not without reason; for in 1298 Simone was but fourteen years of age. Hence they will have it that he was the scholar of their own Mino, and certainly he seems to borrow largely from the great fresco already noticed; though the circumstance of his having retouched it himself makes us indisposed to attach much weight to mere similarity of style. The colouring, too, is more diversi-

fied than that of the *Giotteschi*, and has such a degree of floridness that it would almost seem the harbinger of Baroccio's style. But if he was not Giotto's disciple, he may perhaps on some occasions have been his coadjutor, and if not that, at least his admirer. Hence it was that he imitated his style to such a nicety in St. Peter's at Rome; and to his talent in this respect it was that he owed his introduction to the Pope at Avignon, where he died. This painting at the Vatican has perished: others of his, however, still exist; and more of them at Pisa and Florence than at Siena itself. At Pisa he represented in the Campo Santo certain actions of S. Ranieri; and that famous Assumption where the Virgin is surrounded by a company of Angels who, while celebrating her triumph, actually seem to be soaring above the earth.

Though it is not my wont to say much on the subject of illuminations, I shall not omit to mention one which I met with in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and which seemed to be a remarkable performance. In that library there is a manuscript Virgil with Servius's commentary, formerly in Petrarch's possession. By way of frontispiece there is an illumination, which there is good reason to suppose Simone was employed to paint by the poet himself, who accompanied it with these lines:—

Mantua Virgilium qui talia carmina finxit;
Sena tulit Simonem digito qui talia pinxit.

Mantua may her Virgil, Sena her Simone claim;
That drew from verse divine, this the graphic art, his fame.

The artist has here represented Virgil seated, in the act of writing, and, with eyes turned towards the sky, invoking the Muse's aid. Æneas stands before him in the garb and with the bearing of a warrior; and, pointing to his sword, indicates the subject of the Æneid: the Bucolics are typified by a shepherd, and the Georgics by a husbandman, both of them placed in a lower plane, and intent on listening to the poet's strain. Meanwhile,

Servius is seen drawing aside a veil, or curtain, composed of a very fine and transparent substance, to intimate that his commentary serves to explain those parts of the divine poet's works, which would otherwise remain obscure and unintelligible to the reader.

Lorenzo, familiarly styled Lorenzetto, was the founder of another family of painters, also of distinguished merit: he was the father of one Ambrogio, whom, from that circumstance, biographers call Lorenzetti. In the Palazzo Pubblico, there is a large work of this artist's, on which the words *Ambrosius Laurentii* are inscribed, and which may be called a moral poem. The vices of a corrupt government are there portrayed under various aspects, and with suitable emblems; verses being added here and there to explain their nature and effects. There, too, the Virtues are seen, according to modern parlance, personified, and accompanied with appropriate symbols. Various other frescos and large pictures of his are to be seen at Siena, but they do not excite our admiration like his smaller ones, in which he seems to pave the way for Beato Angelico, whom we have eulogized in the proper place. I have seen nothing like him among his contemporaries: he has, moreover, an air of nationality, which prevents him from being confounded with the *Giotteschi;* differing from them wholly in taste, colouring, and drapery.

Another of Lorenzo's sons was named Pietro; of whom there exists in the Campo Santo of Pisa La Vita de' Padri dell' Eremo, where, following Ecclesiastical History as his guide, he has represented the discipline of those monks in all its variety—a picture which, if I am not much mistaken, is the richest in point of invention, as well as the most novel and best conceived, that is to be found there*.

* The other more distinguished painters of this epoch were Taddeo di Bartolo, Domenico Bartoli, and Matteo di Giovanni, by some called the Masaccio of his school, though far inferior to the Florentine Masaccio.

Sienese School.

EPOCH II.

FOREIGN PAINTERS AT SIENA.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE MODERN STYLE IN THAT CITY.

HITHERTO we have not met with a single foreigner at Siena capable of playing the master, and giving a new character to the school. But this, however much it may have served the purpose of the Sienese painters themselves, was of no little detriment to the art. At length, however, the great became sensible of the decline of the native school, and the necessity of having recourse to foreign artists. The Florentine style was at that time in high repute at Rome; but their ancient rivalry, and other political considerations, prevented the Sienese from adopting it. Perugia was not deemed liable to the same objections. From thence they invited, first, Bonfigli; then his scholar, Pietro Perugino, who executed two altar-pieces there; and lastly, various disciples of the latter, who remained there a long time in the service of two natives of Siena well known in history. The one was Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, who shortly afterwards became Pius III.: he, wishing to decorate the sacristy of the cathedral—besides the chapel appropriated to his family—with various historical pieces from the life of his uncle, Pius II., invited Pinturicchio to Siena; and the latter brought with him from Perugia not only others of Pietro's scholars, but even Raphael himself, who is said to have prepared the designs for those pieces, either entirely or in great part. The other was Pandolfo Petrucci, who, for some time, played the tyrant at Siena, and being anxious to embellish his palace and one or two

churches, availed himself of Signorelli and Genga, as well as recalled Pinturicchio.

All this took place at the commencement of the sixteenth century, for the sacristy was considered as finished in 1503, and in 1508 Pinturicchio was recalled; nor does any very long interval seem to have elapsed before the arrival of Genga, one of Pietro's scholars, and Signorelli.. Thenceforward the Sienese school began to make rapid strides towards the modern style; the design, the laying on of the colours, the perspective, all became perfected in the space of a few years. About that period Siena could boast of four painters endowed with a felicity of genius capable of ensuring success in the noblest undertakings—Pacchiarotto, Razzi, Mecherino, and Peruzzi. Whoever should compare their works with those of Matteo would imagine that between them and him a long series of years must have intervened, and yet they were all four alive at the time of Matteo's death.

PACCHIAROTTO.

JACOPO PACCHIAROTTO is the most addicted of all to Pietro Perugino's manner, though he neither belonged to his school, nor perhaps had ever been away from Siena till 1535. During that year, the populace having for some cause been incited to insurrection against the government, and Pacchiarotto having put himself forward as one of the ringleaders, he would have lost his life on the scaffold, but for the protection of the Padri Osservanti, who kept him for some time concealed within a tomb; till at length he had an opportunity of withdrawing secretly into France, where he wrought together with Rosso, and where he is supposed to have died. Various cabinet pictures and altar-pieces of his, in the style of Perugino, are to

be met with at Siena; particularly a very beautiful one in the church of St. Christopher. In his frescos of St. Catherine and St. Bernardine, executed in competition with the most eminent of the Sienese painters, he evinces also an admirable talent for design. It seems certain that he attentively studied the works of Raphael; there are some figures, as well as heads of his, invested with such a graceful and fascinating air, that some connoisseurs have been disposed to assign them to that great master of the *beau ideal*. Nevertheless, Pacchiarotto is almost unknown beyond the confines of his native place; Vasari having only mentioned him incidentally; while his paintings are either referred to Perugino himself or his scholars.

RAZZI.

GIANNANTONIO RAZZI, otherwise called the Cav. Sodoma, was undoubtedly enrolled among the citizens of Siena; but whether he was born at Vergelle, a Sienese village, or at Vercelli, in Piedmont, has been made matter of dispute. Vasari makes him a native of Vercelli. To this opinion I am disposed to incline, on considering the colour of his fleshes, the character of his chiaroscuro, and certain other peculiarities of the old Milanese school, and of Giovenone, who flourished at Vercelli during the earlier years of Sodoma: of that style I think I can distinguish some vestiges in the works of the latter; I speak more particularly of those he executed while he was as yet fresh from his school. During the pontificate of Julius II. he wrought at Rome. He there executed various paintings at the Vatican, which, not having been approved of by the Pope, were defaced: Raphael substituted others in their stead, but let the arabesques remain. Razzi afterwards executed some pictures from the life of Alexander the Great, in the Chigi palace, now

called the Farnesina. There he represented the Nuptials of Roxana, and the Suppliant Family of Darius; of which the former is the best. They do not exhibit the elegance, the grace, nor the dignified heads, that characterize Da Vinci's style; but they betray a predilection for the same style of chiaroscuro, which was then in high repute among the Lombards. Perspective, their hereditary attribute, also occupies a prominent place in these works; which abound with gay images—such as little Cupids shooting their arrows, or retinues that fascinate the eye.

Nevertheless, his works at Siena, the fruit of his studies in Rome, and of his riper years, are still superior. The Epiphany, in the church of St. Augustine, was, by a distinguished foreign connoisseur who spoke to me of it in terms of the highest admiration, esteemed worthy of Da Vinci himself. The Scourging of Christ, in the cloister of St. Francis, has by some even been preferred to M. Angelo's figures; of the justness of which preference I leave to connoisseurs to judge: it seems, at any rate, to be their unanimous opinion that Razzi never produced a better picture. There are who think no less highly of his St. Sebastian, now in the Florentine gallery, which is supposed to be a copy from some antique *torso*. The St. Catherine of Siena in a Swoon, which he executed in fresco in a chapel of S. Domenico, is much in the style of Raphael. Peruzzi was enraptured with it, and declared that he had never seen the effects of swooning so naturally represented by any other painter. In general, however, there is in his paintings a certain air and varied expression, which he did not borrow from any one. These peculiarities were, as I suspect, picked up among the Sienese—as was usual also with other artists of this school, whose heads possess all that gaiety, openness, and sprightliness, for which the Sienese are so remarkable. He wrought frequently without any preparatory study, and in a careless manner; more especially in his old age, when, being unable to procure

employment enough at Siena, he was reduced to the necessity of seeking it at Pisa, Volterra, and Lucca. Still, in all his pictures, we recognise the hand of a master, who, even when he would not take the trouble to paint well, could not paint badly. Annibal Caracci, when passing through Siena, observed, that "Razzi appeared to be a first-rate master, and of first-rate taste, and that of such pictures"—he alluded to his best remaining works in Siena—"very few were to be found."

MECHERINO.

Domenico Beccafumi derived his nick-name of Mecherino from a citizen of Siena, who, having observed him, while he was a shepherd boy, drawing something or other upon a stone, took it as a favourable omen of his genius; and, having obtained his father's consent, carried him to the city, and, according to Gigli, recommended him to the care of Capanna. He exercised himself at that time in copying the designs of eminent artists, and in imitating Pietro Perugino's pictures, whose style he at first adopted: nor did he ever entirely divest himself of it; betraying a dryness of manner even in his pictures in the cathedral of Pisa, though they were the work of his maturer years. On his visit to Rome, during the pontificate of Julius II., a new scene opened on his view, both in the remains of ancient sculpture, which he designed with the most unwearied assiduity, and in those paintings which M. Angelo and Raphael had executed in emulation of each other. Returning to Siena after an interval of two years, and still continuing to cultivate design with the same unwearied attention, he found himself in a condition to enter into competition with Razzi; and, if we are to credit Vasari, even surpassed him. This point we may, perhaps, concede, so far as regards perspective and fertility of invention. But at Siena

itself Mecherino is considered inferior to Razzi in other branches of the art; and from the various places where they painted in competition with each other, the comparison is easy enough to any one disposed to make it. At first he indulged his placidity of disposition by painting in a style of congenial sweetness; making choice, at that time, of heads remarkable for grace and beauty, and, above all, taking special care to repeat the portrait of a favourite mistress. Of considerable celebrity in this kind is the picture placed at S. Benedetto degli Olivetani, where, with the Titular Saint and St. Jerome, he has represented the virgin St. Catherine, together with certain little legendary pieces from her life. The last commentator on Vasari prefers this to many of Mecherino's other works; lamenting that he should afterwards have been so enamoured of Bonarruoti's energetic style as to have deviated from his original manner. And, to say the truth, from the moment that he aspired at a more vigorous method, he frequently degenerated into coarseness in his proportions, negligence in his hands and feet, and harshness in his heads. This defect increased with his years; insomuch that the heads which he painted in his old age appeared, even to Vasari, remarkable only for their ugliness.

His style of colouring is not the most correct; betraying a degree of mannerism in the redness of the tints, which is, however, of a cheerful and not unpleasing character; it is, moreover, clear and lucid, and laid on so unsparingly, that even at this day it remains on the plaster in the highest preservation. But few works of his exist at Genoa, where he was employed in the palace of Prince Doria; nor are there many of them at Pisa; but in his native place they abound, both in public and private. He was more successful in water-colours than in oils; but the works which redound most of all to his credit, are his historical pieces in fresco. He was particularly happy in disposing them so as to suit the situation, and in accommodating them to the edifice; and so well did he contrive to embellish them with arabesque

ornaments, that his works needed not the aid of gilt stuccos or other gaudy decorations. His pictures evince such felicity of invention, that, to one at all acquainted with the circumstances, a single glance is sufficient to recall the whole story. There is also great fulness, dignity, and vivacity in the way in which he handles his subjects; always contriving to render them more imposing by the help of perspective, and more attractive by introducing the usages of antiquity. He especially delights to shew his skill in those more recondite branches of the art, which at that time were not so generally understood:—such as representing the reflection of the light of a fire, or any other light—difficult foreshortenings, especially that sort of foreshortening called *di sotto in su*—matters of which Lower Italy afforded in those days but few examples. Vasari describes at length a figure of Justice painted by him, the feet of which are enveloped in shadow, which becomes gradually less and less deep till it reaches the shoulders, where it finishes in a brilliant and almost celestial light: " nor is it possible," continues he, " to conceive, much less to point out, a more beautiful figure . . . . . amongst all that were ever painted with a view to appear foreshortened when seen from below." Admitting this remark to be a just one, Mecherino may, as regards this most difficult branch of art, in some sort be styled the Coreggio of Lower Italy; for none of the moderns had attempted so much before him. The above-mentioned figure he painted on the ceiling of the Sala of the Consistory; and arranged below it various round and square pictures, each descriptive of some memorable action of a Sienese republican. The same idea he pursued in an apartment now in the possession of the Bindi family, which Della Valle esteemed his master-piece. His figures, like those in the *Loggie* of Raphael, are small, and on that account better designed, as well as more sprightly, and better coloured than those of the Consistory—Mecherino's style being, in fact, somewhat like a spirit, which retains its strength so long as it is inclosed in a phial, but which, when poured out

into a larger vessel, evaporates and is lost. But this was a peculiarity common to him with numberless others. What was more extraordinary, was the fact he communicated to Vasari, that "out of the atmosphere of Siena he used to fancy he could not paint so well"—a circumstance ascribed by the P. Guglielmo to the climate; which would, indeed, be an excellent nostrum for peopling Siena with painters. Perhaps the fact is rather to be attributed to the greater degree of quiet and tranquillity which he enjoyed at home, in the midst of friends and citizens disposed to stimulate him by applause, rather than to repress his efforts by censure; in the *midst, too,* of all the spectacles and vivacity of his country—matters which a native of Siena always pines after, but rarely meets with elsewhere.

PERUZZI.

Baldassare Peruzzi is one of that numerous class whose merit must not be measured by their success. Born in the lowest state of poverty, in the diocese of Volterra, but within the territory of Siena, and of a Sienese father, he was bred up amidst want, and was through life the constant sport of fortune; —esteemed inferior to his rivals, only because he was as remarkable for modesty and diffidence, as they were for arrogance and effrontery; stripped of all the little he possessed at the sack of Rome; reduced to live on a mere pittance at Siena, Bologna, or Rome; and dying just as he was beginning to be known—not without suspicion of having been poisoned through envy, and with the additional affliction of leaving a wife and six children little better than in a state of beggary. After the death of this great man, the world learnt to appreciate his genius better than it had done during his life; and his epitaph, which places him almost on a level with the ancients, has ever been considered as

paying a just tribute to his merits. He is by common consent placed among the first architects of his age; and he would also rank among its greatest painters had he displayed as much merit in colouring as he did in design, and had he been uniformly equal to himself—a point which he could not always accomplish during a life so chequered and wretched.

After Peruzzi had been initiated in the rudiments of art in his native place—though by what master is not known—he went to Rome, as early as the time of Alexander VI., for the purpose of completing his studies. He became acquainted with Raphael—whose pupil he was, as some will have it—and whom he both admired and imitated, especially in certain of his Holy Families. He also closely imitated him in some of his fresco paintings;—such as the Judgment of Paris, in the town of Belcaro, which passes for his best performance; and the celebrated Sibyl foretelling the birth of Christ to Augustus—a fresco executed at Fonte Giusta of Siena, and universally esteemed as one of the most exquisite paintings in that city. This figure he invested with such an air of inspiration, that even Raphael himself, when treating similar subjects, can perhaps hardly be said to have surpassed him; and yet less can Guido or Guercino, of whom so many Sibyls are still pointed out. In pictures of a larger size, such as the Presentation in the church della Pace at Rome, he evinces skill in composition, gives a faithful delineation of the passions, and embellishes the subject with appropriate architecture. His oil paintings are very scarce: those representing the Magi, which I have met with in various collections at Florence, Parma, and Bologna, are copied from a chiaroscuro of his, which, as we are informed by Vasari, was afterwards coloured by Girolamo da Trevigi. His altar-pieces, in oils, are also extremely scarce; nor can I with certainty point out any of them, save one consisting of three half-length figures —the Virgin, placed between the Baptist and St. Jerome—at Torre Babbiana, eighteen miles from Siena.

What I have already adduced would be more than sufficient to establish the fame of any other painter; and yet all this is far from constituting the whole of Peruzzi's merit. This great man did not confine himself to the production of excellent cabinet pictures and frescos. He was, as I have already observed, an architect; or, to use the words of Lomazzo, an universal architect; and in this profession, of which he made himself master by his unwearied study of ancient architecture, he holds the foremost rank; insomuch that he has even been considered superior to Bramante himself.

Sienese School.

EPOCH III.

THE ART, WHICH AMIDST THE PUBLIC CALAMITIES HAD DECLINED AT SIENA, IS RESTORED BY MEANS OF SALIMBENI AND HIS SONS.

We have already noticed the progressive advancement, and the more distinguished productions of the Sienese school, from the commencement down to nearly the middle of the sixteenth century; we have not, however, as yet taken into consideration a certain circumstance which adds incalculably to the merit both of the artists and the works of that period. If we go back to the history of that half century, we shall find every one of the states of Italy groaning under the disasters which befel it; but no state shall we find undergoing so may bitter calamities at the same time—and that time, too, of such long continuance—as Siena. Famine, pestilence, suspension of commercial intercourse, though they afflicted other states as well, seem here to have raged with double fury: domestic commotion and foreign war, though they shook other republics to their centre, did not, for a long series of years, leave one single hour's tranquillity to this. The Sienese republic, though great, if we consider only the valour of its citizens, was small in every other point of view: hence it resembled those gulfs, where tempests are both more frequent and more violent than in the open sea. The tyranny of the Petrucci, the dissensions that prevailed between the nobles and the lower orders, the jealousy entertained of foreign powers, who aimed at its subjugation, served to keep Siena in a state of continual excitement, and often rendered it the theatre of bloody conflicts; and the remedy which they sought for these evils,

in the protection, sometimes of the Imperialists, sometimes of the French, only tended to augment the turbulence within, and to aggravate the aggression from without. During a period of such incessant agitation, I know not which to admire most—the taste of the citizens, thus intent on all occasions to promote the decoration of their private dwellings and their country—or the courage of the artists themselves, in thus pursuing their labours with such irrepressible ardour: this, however, I know, that few such examples are to be found in the annals of other countries. At length, in the year 1555, Cosmo I. stripped the Sienese of the liberty they had so long boasted. They would have yielded it with less bitter regret to any other state than that of Florence; whence it is not much to be wondered at, if, at such a time, two-thirds of its citizens forsook their native land, refusing to become the subjects of an enemy whom they held in such abhorrence.

At length, however, Siena began by degrees to recover from its disasters, and to become reconciled to the new government, which the politic Cosmo endeavoured to make appear not so much a new system, as a reformation of the old; nor was it long before the void occasioned by those artists who had abandoned their native country was supplied by others.

ARCANGIOLO SALIMBENI.

Baldinucci expressly calls Salimbeni a "disciple of Federigo Zucchero." What the biographer proceeds to say may perhaps be correct, namely, that during his stay at Rome he became an intimate acquaintance and friend of that master's; but his style betrays principles wholly different from those of Zucchero; and notwithstanding the most diligent search, not a single painting of his has ever been discovered which would lead us to refer him to that school. He affects precision rather than fulness and

softness of design; insomuch, that we may discern in him some predilection for Pietro Perugino's style; as Della Valle observes with regard to a Crucifixion of his between six Saints, at the parish church of Lusignano. In other pieces of his, still to be seen at Siena, as his St. Peter the Martyr, in the possession of the Dominicans, his style appears strictly modern, but accompanied with a due degree of finish, and an exemption from those faults, of which Zucchero, the very type of mannerism in his day, is often guilty. And, truly, it was well for the Sienese school that it produced this artist; who, if he was not blessed with any great genius, had, at any rate, judgment enough to shun the corrupt methods of the time. Hence, amidst the contagious examples of the neighbouring schools, this of Siena either remained uninfected, or, at least, sustained but little injury; and the new disciples which it produced conspired to bring about a reformation of the art in Italy.

CASOLANI.

Alessandro Casolani derived his surname from Casole, a small town in which his family resided before they came to Siena. Though the scholar of Arcangelo Salimbeni, he was also much indebted for his acquirements to the instructions he received from Roncalli at Siena and Rome. In this latter city he abode a considerable time, designing the best works it contained, and making himself familiar with a variety of different styles. He added not a little to his attainments in a tour which he made some years afterwards to Padua, where he painted at the Certosa and various other places. His style is exceedingly diversified. In it we discover vestiges of Roncalli's happiest manner—his chaste design, his sober composition, his subdued colouring, and placid harmony. He seems, however, to have

aspired at something original; for he was continually changing his style, blending it with the manner of this or that particular artist, and sometimes treading an unbeaten path. He was blessed both with quickness of invention and rapidity of execution; readily transferring his ideas to the canvass, and, whenever he was dissatisfied with them, choosing rather to efface the whole work than take the trouble to correct it in a few of its parts. Guido, who, among the moderns, may be considered as the father of the *beau ideal*, could not help admiring him, (notwithstanding his deficiency in that respect,) and bestowing on him the following panegyric:—"This man is in the truest sense a painter"—*Costui è veramente pittore.* Whoever is desirous of proving the justness of this panegyric, should examine his best performance, the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, at the Carmine of Siena. This picture is on a large scale, exhibiting great variety both as to the figures which it contains, and the passions which it expresses, as well as the most admirable unity. It is said that Roncalli, on contemplating it, was so highly pleased with it, as to affirm that, in those days, the art of painting had wholly centred in Casolani. But Casolani, after having attained this high degree of excellence, lived but a short time, and thus failed to realize the great expectations that had been formed of him.

VENTURA SALIMBENI.

The Cav. Ventura, the son of Salimbeni, passes for the third best scholar of that master; though, in truth, he could have received but few lessons from his father. Ventura quitted his home at a very early age, and, wandering through the different cities of Lombardy, studied the works of Coreggio and other Lombard masters, whose style was then beginning to grow into repute in Tuscany. He next repaired to Rome, and during

the pontificate of Sixtus V. contrived to raise great expectations of his future eminence, which, having afterwards given himself up to pleasure, he never realized. He left behind him various frescos, which have been commended by Baglione; among which, the Abraham entertaining the Angels, in one of the churches of the Jesuits, seems most like the work of a consummate master. We there discern a certain sprightliness and gracefulness in the colouring and countenances, which he ever afterwards retained; we discern, too, a studiousness of design and chiaroscuro, which he afterwards but too frequently neglected. He sometimes wrought in company with Vanni; and, though the latter was eight years younger than himself, not improbably derived some benefit from him. Certain it is, that in many of his works he resembles him in his imitation of Barocci's style; while he scarcely yields to him in gracefulness of contour, expression, or softness and lucidness of colouring. His performances in the churches of S. Quirico and S. Domenico are much admired: in the former is the Angel appearing at the Sepulchre of Christ; in the latter, a Crucifixion, with various Saints, which surpass most of his other works, of which there are some of great merit in other places at Siena, especially where he was stimulated by the proximity of the more distinguished masters of his native school. He also produced some beautiful historical pieces at Florence, in the cloisters of the Servi, where he wrought in competition with Poccetti; and in the cathedral of Pisa, where he had to contend with several eminent artists. The Espousals of the Virgin, in the cathedral of Foligno; the St. Gregory, in St. Peter's, at Perugia; other works at Lucca, Pavia, and in different cities of Italy, sufficiently corroborate *Baglione's* statement, that he was never for continuing long in one place. At Genoa, however, his stay was more protracted. The beautiful chamber in the Casa Adorno, together with certain other works which he executed there, are still in existence, though some others of his have perished.

VANNI.

Francesco Vanni is, in the opinion of many, the best painter of the Sienese school; and even in Italy itself is reckoned among the restorers of painting during the sixteenth century. It seems most probable that he was initiated in the first rudiments of art by his brother, rather than by his father-in-law. At the early age of sixteen he repaired to Rome, for the purpose of studying design after the works of Raphael, and those of the best masters; and was for some time under the care of Giovanni de' Vecchi, a predilection for whose style he retained after his return to his native city. Vestiges of this style may be traced in various churches, and it is recorded that it was not approved of by his fellow-citizens—a circumstance which may have caused him chagrin at the time, but proved in the sequel a lasting source of satisfaction. For on this account he resolved, in imitation of his brother, to go and examine the paintings of the Lombard school; and, having spent some time at Parma in copying them, he afterwards took up his abode at Bologna, where he also employed himself in the same manner. In that city, also, he left a work or two in the style of the Caracci—if, indeed, we may really ascribe to him a Madonna, which, in one of the Zambeccari collections, was pointed out to me as a *Vanni*. In like manner, the Flight into Egypt, which he painted for the church of S. Quirico, at Siena, bears undoubted marks of the Bolognese school.

For the rest, although he attempted various styles, he did not imitate Casolani, in never adhering to any. Vanni adopted the elegant and florid manner of Barocci, in which he succeeded to admiration. Of this, the Fall of Simon Magus, painted on slate, in St. Peter's at Rome, affords sufficient proof; a picture, which, though it has recently been cleaned in a rather injudicious manner, is still held in high esteem. Both the design

and colouring of this picture are in the manner of Barocci: it evinces also a carefulness of preparation which has enabled it to resist the humidity of the church; nor has it been found necessary to remove it, as has happened in the case of various others. Even in Siena, and other cities of Italy, he has produced pictures in which he has approached the manner of this his favourite model more closely even than Viviani, or any one else, however long under the tuition of Barocci himself. His Marriage of St. Catherine at the Refugio, with a multitudinous assemblage of Angels, is in high repute at Siena; as is also the Madonna surrounded by various Saints, painted for the church of Monna Agnese; and the St. Raymond Walking on the Sea, in the possession of the Dominican Fathers, which some consider the best picture of his in that city, where his works are very numerous. Among the finer productions of the art is the Dispute on the Mass, in the cathedral of Pisa; a picture executed in emulation of his brother, the Cavaliere Ventura, who, in the altar-piece degli Angioli, had surpassed his usual performances. At the Umiltà of Pistoia, at the convent of the Camaldolesi of Fabriano, and in that of the Capuchins of St. Quirico, may also be seen some of his most exquisite works; and, indeed, so many more are there to be met with in other places, that I should hardly think a complete catalogue of them has ever yet been made out. In general, as we have already observed, he closely imitates Barocci; hence, during their progress through the different churches and galleries, the *dilettanti* are apt to mistake Vanni's pictures for those of Barocci, deceived principally by his colouring, and the heads of his boys, which look as if struck off by the same die. But one who is well practised in the works of Barocci recognises in them more grandeur of design, and greater freedom of pencilling. With regard to those pictures of Vanni's, which he executed at a low price, or in a negligent manner—and at Siena there are many such—one can hardly persuade oneself that they are his.

I here bring the school of Siena to a close; observing, to its credit, that if it cannot boast of painters of first-rate merit, it at least produced many that may well be called eminent, when we take into consideration the time at which they lived; and but few that can be called inferior, or that did not rise above mediocrity. It would seem, indeed, either that this people were endowed with an innate talent for painting, or else that none had turned their attention to it but such of them as were capable of prosecuting it with success.

Roman School.

EPOCH I.

. . . . . WHAT I have already adduced* is sufficient to prove that the art of painting was not wholly neglected in the Papal State even during the dark ages; and that there, too, there arose from time to time men of genius, who, without quitting their native place, still contributed to the advancement of art. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that Florence has ever been the great emporium, the leading school, the Athens of Italian painting; nor can her claim to this high honour ever be invalidated, whatever attempts may be made to impugn it. Even Sixtus IV., who, as we have stated, searched all Italy for artists to decorate the Sistine Chapel, drew the greater number from Tuscany; nor was there to be found amongst them one of his own subjects, except Pietro Perugino, and he, too, had risen into notice at Florence. Meantime, in Pietro we see the first mature fruits of the Roman school. All that we have hitherto noticed has been crude and indigested. Perugino is its Masaccio, its Ghirlandaio, its all.

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* Among the early artists of the Roman school here alluded to, are—Oderigi da Gubbio, noticed by Dante as the "glory of Agubbio," and of the art of illuminating books; Pietro Cavallini; Gentile da Fabbriano, of whom Bonarruoti used to say, that his style corresponded with his name; and Piero della Francesca, mentioned already, at the commencement of the Florentine school, as the father of perspective.

PIETRO PERUGINO.

Pietro Vanucci della Pieve, as he subscribes himself in some of his pictures, or of Perugia, as (from enjoying the privileges of a citizen of that place) he styles himself in others, had studied under a master, " of no great repute," if we may credit Vasari; and that master, as Bottari conjectured, was one Pietro da Perugia, or, as was commonly reported in Foligno, Niccolò Alunno. Mariotti contends that Pietro made considerable progress at Perugia, in the school of Bonfigli and that of Piero della Francesca; from whom he not only derived that skill in the art of perspective, which, according to Vasari, excited so much admiration at Florence, but also much of his design and colouring. Hence Mariotti questions whether Pietro, who, when he went to Florence, might in some sort be considered in the light of a master, became the scholar of Verrocchio, as history records; or whether he did not rather perfect himself in that city without any other aid than that afforded by his own talents, the admirable works of Masaccio, and those of the excellent painters who then flourished there. He finally decides in favour of the opinion held by Pascoli, Bottari, and Taia, and adopted by the Padre Resta, (in his Galleria Portatile, p. 10,) that Verrocchio never was his master. I will only add, that it appears to me not improbable, that Pietro, on his arrival at Florence, placed himself under the direction of this most celebrated artist, [illegible] was instructed by him more especially in design and the pl[illegible] art, and even in that style of painting which Verrocchio, without much practising it himself, contrived to instil into Da Vinci and Credi. Traditions are seldom wholly groundless; they have generally some foundation in truth.

Pietro's style, like that of other painters of his time, is somewhat hard and dry: sometimes, too, he appears rather niggardly in the drapery of his figures; so short and straitened are his vests and

mantles. But for these defects he atones by the comeliness of his heads, especially those of boys and women, in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, by the gracefulness of his attitudes, and the beauty of his colouring. Those azure grounds, which contribute so much to the relief of his pictures—those tints of a greenish, red, or violet hue, which he so well contrives to blend with each other—those landscapes where the foreground and distance harmonize so happily together; "the method of painting which was," as Vasari informs us, "till then unknown at Florence" —those edifices so well constructed and so judiciously disposed—are even now regarded with delight in the pictures and frescos of his that still exist at Perugia and Rome. In his altar-pieces he displays no great variety. One of the most singular is at Perugia: it is a picture of Christ's Brethren, executed for the church of S. Simone, and may be considered as one of the earliest specimens of a well-designed and well-composed altar-piece. Generally, however, Perugino did not aim much at novelty of invention: his Crucifixions, and Descents from the Cross, are numerous and very much resemble each other. In like manner, in his Ascensions of our Saviour, and Assumptions of the Virgin, to be seen at Bologna, Florence, Perugia, and Città di San Sepolcro, he has always repeated, with but little variation, the same composition. It is notorious that he was reproached with this even during his lifetime, and that he defended himself by saying that he did not steal from any one. Another defence might be set up; and it is this—that the truly beautiful will be regarded with pleasure even when repeated in different places; nor would any one who happens to have seen, at the Sistine Chapel, his St. Peter invested with the keys, be displeased on finding at Perugia a picture of the Nuptials of the Virgin containing a similar perspective: on the contrary, this picture is one of the most attractive objects that noble city affords—a sort of compendium of the various works of Perugino existing in different places. His frescos display greater fertility

of invention, and, as some think, greater softness and harmony of colouring. Of these, his master-piece is in his native city, in the Sala del Cambio; where he represented certain historical facts of the New, and certain Saints of the Old Testament, adding his own portrait, under which his grateful fellow-citizens inscribed an elegant panegyric. He evinces most merit, and, as it were, a sort of approximation to Raphael's style, in certain works, the fruits as I suspect, of his latter years; of which kind I saw a Holy Family of his at the Carmine of Perugia. The same may be observed of certain small pictures of his of the miniature class; as in the *grado* di San Pietro, at Perugia, than which perhaps he never produced any thing more beautiful or more exquisitely finished; as well as in a variety of others that evince the utmost diligence of execution—though these are still but few compared with the number executed by his scholars, and pointed out as his.

On this head we may refer to what Taia, and after him the author of the *Lettere Perugine*, observes with regard to Perugino's scholars; that they "adhered most scrupulously to their master's manner;" and that these scholars, being very numerous, have filled the world with pictures, which both painters and amateurs generally ascribe to Perugino himself. On observing his works at Perugia, travellers are generally led to entertain a higher opinion of his merit; many of them, perhaps, having before only met with works falsely attributed to him. Thus, at Florence, there are some genuine pieces of his in the possession of the Grand Duke, a beautiful Descent from the Cross, in the church of S. Chiara, and perhaps one or two other pictures; but in private houses, both there and in other cities of Tuscany, many Holy Families pass for his, which ought rather to be ascribed to Gerino da Pistoia, or some other of his Tuscan scholars.

There were also in the Papal states a considerable number of his scholars, and those, too, of greater reputation, and some

of them less tenacious than foreigners of their master's style. *Bernardino Pinturicchio*, the scholar, and even the coadjutor of Pietro, both at Perugia and Rome, was a painter undervalued by Vasari; who denied him his due share of praise. His design differs from that of his master, and his draperies betray a more profuse use of gold than was consistent with the times in which he lived: his edifices, however, are magnificent, his countenances remarkable for vivacity, and all his compositions for the air of nature that pervades them. Having been on the most friendly terms with Raphael, in company with whom he painted at Siena, he has in some of his works emulated the graceful style of that artist; as in the picture of S. Lorenzo in the possession of the Franciscans of Spello, where there is a small figure of the Baptist, by some thought to be the work of Raphael himself. He had great merit in arabesques and perspectives; in which latter branch of art he was the first to introduce views of cities among the ornaments of fresco paintings; as he did in an apartment of the Vatican, where, amidst certain landscapes, he introduced views of the principal cities of Italy. In many of his historical works he retained the old custom of forming part of the decorations of stucco—as in the representation of arches for instance—a custom which lasted in the Milanese school till the time of Gaudenzio. Rome possesses various pictures of his, especially in the Vatican and at the church of Araceli: the cathedral of Spello, however, contains a better work than any of these; but his best performance of all is in the magnificent sacristy of the cathedral of Siena. The work consists of ten historical pieces, representing the most memorable circumstances of the life of Pius II.; and on the outside is an eleventh, descriptive of the Coronation of Pius III., by whom the work was ordered.

Roman School.

EPOCH II.

RAPHAEL AND HIS SCHOLARS.

We are now arrived at the happiest era, not only of the Roman school, but of modern painting in general. We have already seen Da Vinci and Bonarruoti carrying the art to the highest pitch of excellence about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and it is notorious that, about the same period, not only Raphael, but Coreggio, Giorgione, Titian, and the best Venetian painters, also began their career: so that a man needed not to have had his life prolonged beyond the ordinary span to have been acquainted with them all. Thus did painting, in the space of but a few years, reach a degree of excellence which it had never attained before, and has never attained since, save when it has endeavoured to imitate these great masters, or to combine in one work the various merits scattered through theirs. Indeed, it would seem an invariable law of that Providence which overrules us, that, in every science, some few individuals of transcendent genius should start up and develope their powers at the same period, or at short intervals from each other. Through the efforts of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, one single age was sufficient to bring tragedy to perfection; by means of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eumolpides, one age sufficed to perfect the ancient comedy; and the new, in like manner, by means of Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon. No philosopher of any great note arose after the days of Plato and Aristotle; and whoever was acquainted with Isocrates and his school was acquainted with the highest order of Grecian eloquence. The same remark applies to the languages of other countries. The

more distinguished Latin authors sprang up together about the time of Augustus: and the Augustus of modern Italy was Leo X.; of France, Louis XIV.; of England, Charles II.

It is the same in the case of the fine arts, as Velleius Paterculus long ago observed: though of this union of men of genius in the same age, he acknowledged that he could not, after the most diligent investigation, ever discover the real cause:—"causas, quùm semper requiro, nunquam invenio quas veras confidam." At the same time, he thinks it probable, that when a man finds the first rank in art already filled by another, looking upon it as a post pre-occupied, he no longer aspires to it, but becomes disheartened, and withdraws from the contest. But this solution is, if I mistake not, unsatisfactory. It may, indeed, furnish us with a reason why no second Michael Angelo, no second Raphael, has ever appeared; but it affords no satisfactory reason why these two, and the others already mentioned, should all have chanced to meet together in the same age. For my part, I am of opinion that the taste of any given period is always influenced by certain principles universally adopted both by professors of the art and amateurs; which principles happening also at a particular period to be the truest and most just, produce in that age a few first-rate masters, and a great number of respectable ones. In process of time, (such is the instability of all sublunary things,) these principles naturally undergo a change; and forthwith the age partakes of that change. I may add, moreover, that these auspicious periods never occur, unless there happen to be a number of princes and private individuals who emulate each other in their admiration and encouragement of works of taste: for hence vast numbers are induced to devote themselves to such pursuits, and amidst these there always start up some men of genius who give a tone to art. The history of Athenian sculpture (and Athens was a city where magnificence and taste went hand and hand) favours my opinion; and it is further confirmed by the history of this golden age of Italian

art. Nevertheless, the question may, for me, remain undetermined, and await its decision from a more competent tribunal.

But though it may be no easy task to assign the reason why so many eminent artists should have sprung up at one particular period, yet we may hope to account for the excellence attained to by a single individual; and I could wish to do so in the case of Raphael. It would seem as though nature and fortune had conspired to exalt him; the former endowing him with her choicest gifts, the latter aiding their operation by a singular combination of propitious circumstances. To understand this the better, we must take a compendious view of his life, and observe the gradual progress of his mind. He was born at Urbino in 1483. The father of this celebrated man was one Giovanni di Santi, or, as he was afterwards more commonly called, Giovanni Sanzio, a painter of very moderate talents, and one from whom Raphael could have learned but little—although it is not a little to have been initiated in a simple style, not yet debased by mannerism. The works of Fra Carnivale, who for those times possessed considerable merit, were of greater service to him. Being sent to Perugia and placed under the care of Perugino, he, as Vasari observes, very soon became master of Pietro's style: though even then he had evidently formed the design of improving upon it. In Città di Castello, I was informed that the picture of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, at the Eremitani, was painted by him at the early age of seventeen. The style was that of Perugino; but the composition differed from that of the age, which usually consisted of the Virgin seated on a throne, with various Saints standing stiff and erect around it. There, on the contrary, he depicted the beatified Saint, whose brows the Virgin and St. Augustine (themselves partly concealed by a cloud) are represented encircling with a crown: two angels are seen on the right, and two others on the left hand; lovely objects, and in different attitudes, holding papers variously folded, on which are inscribed certain words in praise of the holy an-

chorite: above is a majestic figure of the Eternal Father, surrounded by a company of Angels. The different figures appear as though they were in a temple, the pilasters of which are ornamented in the minute and laboured style of Mantegna, while in the folding of the drapery the old manner is still in part retained, and in part corrected: so also in the Devil who is trodden under foot by the Saint, that whimsical deformity with which the old painters represented him is avoided; and he displays the features of a genuine Ethiopian. To this picture he added another, executed about the same time for the church of St. Dominic—a Crucifixion, with two attendant angels—of whom one receives in a cup the precious blood which flows from the right hand, the other, in two cups, collects that of the left hand and side: the Virgin Mother and the beloved Disciple stand by weeping; while the Magdalene and another Saint contemplate the awful mystery on their knees: above all is the Eternal Father. All these figures bear so strong a resemblance to the best of Perugino's, that they might easily pass for his; save that of the Virgin, the beauty of which I would not affirm that he ever equalled, except perhaps in the latter part of his life. Another specimen of this period is noticed by the Abate Morcelli. (De Stylo Inscript. Latin. p. 476.) He states that he saw in the possession of Sig. Annibale Maggiori, a nobleman of Fermo, a Madonna in the act of lifting from off the body of the Infant Jesus, as he lay asleep in the cradle, a veil of the most delicate texture; while close at hand, feasting his eyes on the charming spectacle, stood St. Joseph, on whose staff the same writer detected the following inscription in extremely minute characters —R: S: V: A: XVII: P:—Raphael Sanctius Urbinas an. ætatis XVII pinxit. This was probably his first attempt to embody that idea which he improved upon at a more advanced age, in a picture now in the treasury of Loreto; where the Infant Jesus is represented, not in the act of sleeping, but of raising his hands towards the Virgin in the most winning manner.

Of the same period also, I take to be those small round pictures (tondini) which I shall notice in the course of a few pages, when referring to the Madonna della Seggiola.

Vasari affirms that, previous to his executing these two pictures, he had already painted at Perugia the Assumption, in the possession of the Conventuali, with three small subjects from the life of the Virgin on the *grado;* an assertion which, considering the greater perfection of the work, may well be called in question. This picture displays all the higher merits of Vannucci's style; but the varied feelings evinced by the holy apostles on finding the sepulchre empty, were beyond that artist's powers. Still more, according to Vasari, did Raphael surpass him in the third picture painted for Città di Castello—the Nuptials of the Virgin, in the church of St. Francis. The composition bears a strong resemblance to that adopted by his master in a picture on the same subject at Perugia: yet there is so much more of the modern manner in it, that it may be called the first fruits of a newer style. The bride and bridegroom have a degree of beauty which Raphael scarcely surpassed in any of his heads even in his riper years. The Virgin more especially is a model of angelic beauty. A company of lovely virgins, arrayed in bridal garments, attend her; splendour and elegance appear to vie with each other—gay decorations—veils variously arranged—and a union of ancient and modern costume, which in those days was not considered as a fault. Amidst all the lovely forms that surround her, the Virgin appears triumphant; and that, not from the adventitious ornaments of art, but from her own native charms. Dignity, beauty, modesty, and grace, all conspire to ravish the spectator at the first view, and force him to exclaim—How amiable the mind that animates that form! how divine the being that resides within! The retinue of men that attend St. Joseph are equally well chosen and well conceived. In this group we should look in vain for that scantiness of drapery, that

dryness and mannerism, and that affectation of beauty, which, in Pietro's works, sometimes degenerates into the insipid; all, indeed, is executed with care, yet a vivifying spirit pervades every gesture and every countenance. In the landscape, too, the trees are not those slender, meagre objects which we meet with in the landscapes of Pietro; but are copied from nature, and finished with care. In the upper part of the picture is a small round temple surrounded by a colonnade, and, as Vasari observes, "so carefully executed, that it is wonderful to see what difficulties he appeared to court." In the distance are some beautiful groups, among which is the figure of a beggar imploring charity, depicted to the life; and a little nearer, that of a youth, who with an air of vexation snaps asunder an unbudded rod—a figure which proves him to have been already master of the then novel art of foreshortening. I have described these his first performances more fully than any other writer, that the reader may be enabled to appreciate his extraordinary talents. In the labours of his maturer years, other artists, whose works he had studied, may claim a share; but in these his earlier efforts he was supported solely by the vigour of his own innate powers. His disposition, which was as noble and elevated as it was amiable and affectionate, instinctively led him to that ideal beauty, that gracefulness, and truth of expression, which constitutes the most philosophical and the most difficult province of painting. To attain to excellence in this branch of it, neither study nor art is sufficient. A natural taste for the selection of the beautiful—a faculty of mind capable of culling the separate excellences of many individual objects, and combining them in one perfect whole—a quickness and even fervour of fancy, to conceive the various expressions of sudden and momentary passion—a facility of touch, obedient to the conceptions of the imagination;—these were powers with which nature alone could endow him, and these, as we have seen, he possessed from his earliest years.

Whoever may have attributed Raphael's success to intensity of study rather than felicity of genius, could have had no just notion of the gifts which Heaven had showered down upon him.

Become already the object of admiration both with his master and his fellow-students, it was now that Pinturicchio, after having painted with so much applause at Rome, before Raphael was born, aspired to become in some sort his pupil, in the great work at Siena. Pinturicchio did not possess a genius vast enough for the noble style of composition which the place demanded; nor had Perugino himself fertility of invention or elevation of fancy equal to so novel an undertaking. The object of the work was, to represent the more memorable actions of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope Pius II.—the embassies with which he was entrusted by the Council of Constance to various princes; and by Felix, the anti-pope, to Frederic III., who honoured him with the poet's laurel crown—and, in like manner, the embassies which he undertook for Frederic himself, first to Eugenius IV., and afterwards to Calixtus IV., who created him Cardinal. Next were to be represented—his exaltation to the Papacy, and the most remarkable events of his reign—the canonization of St. Catherine—his attendance at the Council of Mantua, where the Duke received him with princely pomp—and lastly, his death, and the removal of his body from Ancona to Rome. When had an undertaking of such magnitude as this ever been committed to a single artist? Painting had hitherto attempted but little. In the works of this period, (as in those of Pietro's at Perugia,) the larger figures usually stood detached, without any attempt to give them the interest of an historic scene. In historical pieces the figures were usually less than life, and, for the most part, painters confined themselves to subjects taken from the New Testament, where the very frequency of repetition had paved the way for plagiarism. Historical subjects, like those in question, were new to Raphael; and to one like him,

unused to Capitals, it must have been a matter of no small difficulty to have invented no less than eleven such pieces; to have represented the luxurious manners of so many courts, and, in some sort, the concentrated magnificence of Europe; varying the composition according to the occasion. Nevertheless, being conducted by his friend to Siena, he prepared "the sketches and cartoons of all these subjects;" so says Vasari in his life of Pinturicchio; and that the sketches were *all* of them actually prepared by him, is still the received opinion at Siena. In his life of Raphael, Vasari states that he prepared "*some* of the designs and cartoons for this work," and that the reason of his discontinuing them was, his haste to proceed to Florence to see the cartoons of Da Vinci and Bonarruoti.' 'But I am more disposed to credit the first statement of Vasari than the second. From the will of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, it is evident that the work was carrying on in the library in April 1503*. "The library was as yet scarcely finished," when Piccolomini was elected Pope on the twenty-first of September; and his coronation following on the eighth of October, Pinturicchio commemorated the event on the outside of the library, on the corresponding part of the cathedral. (Vasari.) Bottari remarks, that in this façade "we may detect not only the design, but, in many of the heads, even the colouring of Raphael." It would seem, therefore, that he remained till the completion of the last story, which may have been finished in the following year, 1504, in which he set out for Florence. Meanwhile it is fit we should observe, that this work, which remains in such a state of preservation that it might almost be supposed of recent date, does great credit to an artist only twenty years of age; there being, in the transition from the old to the modern style, no work of equal magnitude and variety conceived by any single painter.

* See Preface to the Life of Raphael, by Vasari, Ediz. Senese, p. 228, where the will is quoted.

And even admitting Raphael was not unassisted in this work, still the better part of it cannot but be ascribed to him; inasmuch as Pinturicchio himself made visible progress at this period; for the works which he afterwards executed at Spello and Siena itself, display more of the modern manner than all that he had produced before. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that Raphael had already, even at that early age, made large strides towards a better style than that of his master; displaying greater fulness of contour, greater richness and freedom of composition; together with a taste for ornament which serves to transform the little into the great, and an ability, not confined to this or that particular branch of the profession, but equal to any subject within the whole compass of art.

What he saw at Florence did not divert him from his course. Raphael had already formed his system; and now only sought examples to multiply his ideas with regard to that system, and facilitate its execution. He studied the works of Masaccio, an elegant and expressive painter; and even availed himself of his two figures of Adam and Eve in the works which he afterwards executed at the Vatican. He also contracted an intimacy with Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, who about that time had resumed his studies in the art; and whom he instructed in the principles of perspective, while, in return, he acquired from him a better method of colouring. History is silent as to whether he became acquainted with Da Vinci; and that portrait in the Ducal Gallery at Florence, which is said to be a portrait of Raphael by Leonardo, is a head of some unknown individual. Still I cannot but think, that the mere congeniality of temper of these two amiable and generous men, both of them studious of all that was exquisite in art, must at least have led to an acquaintance, if not to a mutual attachment. At any rate, there was at that time no one more capable than Da Vinci of imparting to him a certain finish and refinement which he could not have derived from Pietro; no one better able to initiate him

in the delicacies and niceties of art. As to Michael Angelo, his pictures were more rare, and less adapted to the genius of Raphael: his great cartoon was not yet finished in 1504; and its author was jealous of its being seen before its completion. He finished it a year or two afterwards, when, dreading the vengeance of Julius II., he fled from Rome and returned to Florence. Raphael, therefore, could not then have had an opportunity of studying it; nor, indeed, did he at that time remain long at Florence, for, according to Vasari, he was obliged to return to his native place, in consequence of the death of his parents. In 1505, we find him at Perugia; and to this year must be referred the works in the chapel of S. Severo, and the Crucifixion, which was severed from the wall, and is now in the possession of the Padri Camaldolensi. From these paintings, which are all of them in fresco, we may ascertain the taste which he acquired at Florence. I think I may safely say it was not the anatomical; no traces of it being visible in the figure of the Redeemer, where he had so good an opportunity of displaying it. Nor was it a taste for the beautiful, for of that he had already exhibited the most admirable specimens; nor a greater truth of expression, inasmuch as Florence could shew him no examples of heads possessing greater spirit, animation, and grace, than those he was already capable of producing. In the art of colouring with softness, as well as of grouping and foreshortening his figures in a more skilful manner, he appears to have made considerable progress after his visit to Florence; whether it was that he owed this improvement to the examples either of Da Vinci or Bonarruoti, or both of them together, or even to painters of an older date. He repaired to Florence a second time, and, after a short stay, quitted it again in order to paint, in the church of St. Francis at Perugia, the picture representing the placing of the Body of Christ in the Sepulchre, the cartoon for which he had prepared at Florence. This picture, which was at first placed in the church of S. Fran-

cis, was afterwards, in the pontificate of Paul V., removed to Rome, and is now in the Borghese palace. He returned again to Florence for the third and last time, and continued there till his departure for Rome, that is, till the year 1508. During the four years that intervened between Raphael's first visit to Florence and his final departure from it, were executed those works which are usually included under his second style, though it is a hazardous task to attempt to define them. Vasari referred to this period the Holy Family in the Rinuccini gallery, and yet it bears the date of 1516. The picture of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus and St. John, and a beautiful landscape, in the Tribune of the Florentine gallery, is unquestionably of this second style; as well as certain others in the possession of foreigners. The style of composition in most of his pictures executed at this period, is that of a Madonna surrounded by various Saints, like the picture at the Pitti palace, which was formerly at Pescia; and that of S. Fiorenzo at Perugia, which has passed over into England. We find, however, even in the works of this period, a gracefulness of attitude, an expressiveness of countenance, and other little niceties of composition, which exempt them from the hard dry manner of the times. The dead Christ already noticed is in a newer and better style. Vasari calls it a most divine picture: the figures are not numerous, but each admirably performs the part assigned to him; the manner in which they discharge the sad duty imposed upon them is the most affecting; the heads, too, are most beautiful—indeed, among the first to be found, after the revival of art, whose beauty is unimpaired by depth of sorrow and intensity of grief. After he had finished this work, Raphael aspired to paint an apartment at Florence; one, I believe, at the Palazzo Pubblico. There still exists a letter of his, bearing the date of 1508, in which he requests the Duke of Urbino to write to the Gonfalonier Soderini on the subject. But a far better fate awaited him at Rome, owing to the exertions of his relative Bramante; who recommended him to Julius II. for

the proposed paintings at the Vatican. Thither therefore he went, and there he had already firmly established himself in the September of the same year.

Thus, then, we find him fixed at Rome and in the Vatican, at a period and under circumstances calculated to render him the first painter in the world. The study to which, above all others, he devoted himself at Rome, was that of the remains of Grecian art, which gave the last finish to his acquirements. He studied too the remains of ancient architecture, and, under the tuition of Bramante, which he enjoyed for six years, became so thoroughly versed in the theory of that science, that, on the death of his uncle, he was judged worthy to succeed him in superintending the building of St. Peter's. He also studied the remains of ancient sculpture, and from them derived not only the contour, the drapery, and attitudes of his figures, but the very spirit and fundamental principles of art. Not content with what still existed in Rome, he employed artists to copy the remains of antiquity at Puzzuoli, as well as throughout the whole of Italy, and even in Greece itself. Nor did he manage to derive less assistance from the living, whom he was wont to consult on the keeping of his compositions. The universal esteem in which he was held, his attractive person and engaging manners, which all accounts agree in describing as unparalleled, conspired to gain him the friendship of the most eminent literary characters of his day. Bembo, Castiglione, Giovio, Novagero, Ariosto, Fulvio, Calcagnini, were proud to call themselves his friends; and, as we may reasonably conclude, all of them supplied him with hints and ideas for his various works.

Nor did his rivals, Michael Angelo and his adherents, contribute a little to his success. As the rivalry that subsisted between Zeuxis and Parrhasius proved beneficial to them both, so did the rivalry between Michael Angelo and Raphael turn to the advantage, not only of the former, as the paintings in the Sistine Chapel plainly prove, but of the latter also, as is no less

clearly evinced by the paintings in the Camere of Raphael, and many others. Michael Angelo, "disdaining the honours of the second place"—non ben contento de' secondi onori—issued forth to the combat, attended, as it were, by an armour-bearer; for when he, with his usual felicity, had prepared designs, he handed them over to Fra Sebastiano, the scholar of Giorgione, to be coloured; indulging the hope that Raphael's pictures would thus always appear inferior to his own, as well in colour as design. Raphael stood alone; and aimed at producing works which should possess all those attractions that were wanting in the performances of Michael Angelo and Fra Sebastiano—new and pleasing imagery—ideal beauty—a close imitation of the Grecian style of design—the charms of elegance and grace—in a word, every excellence comprised within the compass of the art. This noble endeavour to come off triumphant in so arduous a contest occupied his thoughts night and day; never permitting him to pause in his career, but constantly urging him on to surpass both his rivals and himself in every fresh work that he produced. The very subjects proposed to him for the embellishment of these celebrated chambers tended to promote his object, being, in great measure, either such as were new in themselves, or such as required treating in a novel manner. He had to portray, not a troop of bacchanals, or matters of a prosaic and uninteresting character; but the mysteries of the abstruser sciences; the more august ceremonies of our religion; military achievements, which diffused throughout the world the blessings of peace and Christianity; past events, which shadowed forth the glory of two of our greatest pontiffs, Julius II. and Leo X.—the latter of them the most liberal patron, as well as the most acute judge of art, the world ever saw. Circumstances more favourable than these could hardly have arisen to stimulate a noble mind in the pursuit of the sublime.

Vasari informs us that Raphael, immediately on his arrival in Rome, was employed to paint one of the chambers of the

Vatican, called at the time the *Chamber della Segnatura*, and afterwards, from the subjects of the pictures, that *delle Scienze*. On the ceiling are represented Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence. Each of them has on the corresponding side of the room a grand historical piece allusive to its character. On the lower part of the wall are other historical compositions, which refer to the same sciences; and these lesser works, as well as the *Caryatids* and *Telamons* distributed around, are monochromatic or chiaroscuros; all of them designed by Raphael, but executed, as it is said, by Polidoro da Caravaggio. Raphael began with the Theology; imitating Petrarch, who, in a sort of feigned vision, had assembled together men of the same pursuits though they had lived at different periods. He there depicted the Evangelists, whose writings form the foundation of Theology; the Doctors of the church, who have preserved its traditions; the Theologians, St. Thomas, S. Bonaventura, Scotus, and others who have illustrated it by their arguments: higher up is the Trinity, surrounded by the elect, and, on an altar underneath the Trinity, the Eucharist; as if to indicate the mysterious nature of that doctrine. The work betrays some vestiges of the old manner: thus, gold is used in the glories of the Saints, and in other ornamental parts; the *glory* in the upper part of the picture is formed on the plan of that at S. Severo, already noticed; the composition has more symmetry and less freedom than that of the other pieces; and, compared with the others, the whole betrays more littleness of manner. Nevertheless, when examined in detail, this picture evinces such admirable diligence of execution, that some have even gone so far as to prefer it to all the rest. It has moreover been remarked, that Raphael began on the right-hand of the picture, and that by the time he had arrived at the left, he was already a greater painter. This work must have been finished about the year 1508, and so excited the astonishment of the Pope, that he caused all that had been executed by Bramantino, Pier della Francesca, Signorelli,

L'Abate di Arezzo, and Sodoma, (except that the arabesque ornaments of the latter were permitted to remain,) to be effaced, in order that the whole of the historical part might be by the hand of Raphael.

In Raphael's subsequent works, and, indeed, in all that he executed after the year 1509, we must no longer talk of any vestiges of the old style: Raphael had discovered a nobler manner, and thenceforth only sought to carry it to perfection. He had now, on the opposite side, to represent Philosophy: here, therefore, he depicted a Gymnasium in the form of a temple, placing the more distinguished of the ancient philosophers, some within the edifice itself, some on the flight of steps, and others in a lower plane. His favourite Petrarch, and the third chapter " della Fama," afforded him more assistance in this than in any of his other works. Plato, " che in quella schiera andò più presso al segno," is there represented with Aristotle " pien d' ingegno" in the act of disputation; and these two occupy, even in this composition, the post of honour. Here we have Socrates instructing Alcibiades; here, too, we have Pythagoras, beside whom is seen a youth holding up a tablet, on which is represented the theory of harmonic proportion; and here also we have Zoroaster, the King of Bactria, with the globe in his hand. Here, too, may you behold Diogenes stretched on the ground with his tub beside him, and in a state approaching to nudity, " assai più che non vuol vergogna aperto;" and here you see " Archimede star col capo basso," represented turning the compasses on a table, and instructing youth in geometry; together with divers others, absorbed in thought or engaged in disputation, whose names we might, perhaps, with due attention, make out better than Vasari has done. To this picture has been given the name of the *School of Athens*, which, in my judgment, is about as appropriate as the name of the *Mass* or the *Sacrament*, applied to the first picture. The third picture, which is that of the Jurisprudence, is divided into two parts. To the left of the

window stands Justinian with his Code of Civil Law; which Trebonius receives at his hands with an air of submission and obedience, which no other pencil may ever hope to equal. To the right is seen Gregory IX. delivering his book of the Decretals to an Advocate of the Consistory, and bearing the features of Julius II.; as though the latter might there see a reflection of himself. In the concluding picture, the Parnaso, we have a view of Mount Parnassus, where, in company with Apollo and the Muses, are represented the Greek, Roman, and Tuscan poets, as far as was possible, with their own proper features. The most admirable head of all is, perhaps, that of Homer, who is placed between Virgil and Dante: he has all the air of an inspired being, combining the characters of the prophet and the bard. The historical chiaroscuros contribute, by their beauty, to the gratification of the spectator, and, by their agreement with the rest, to the unity of the design. Thus, for instance, under the Theology, St. Augustine is represented standing by the seashore, listening to an angel who warns him not to attempt to penetrate into the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which must ever be above human comprehension: under the Philosophy is seen Archimedes, in the act of being put to death by a soldier, while wholly absorbed by his studies. This first chamber was completed in the year 1511; for such is the date inscribed near the Parnaso.

Vasari, until the completion of this first chamber, makes no mention of any improvement in Raphael's manner; on the contrary, in his life of Raphael, he uses these words:—"Notwithstanding the many monuments of antiquity which he had had an opportunity of observing in that city, and which he had studied with unremitted attention, still he had not, up to this time, imparted to his figures that air of grandeur and majesty, with which he thenceforth contrived to invest them. Now it happened that, at about this period, Michael Angelo, while painting in the Sistine Chapel, caused the Pope that perturbation and alarm, (of

which more in his life,) on account of which he was obliged to fly to Florence. Whence, Bramante, to whom the keys of the chapel were consigned, shewed it, as a friend, to Raphael, in order that he might acquire some notion of Michael Angelo's style:" he then goes on to instance the Isaiah in the church of St. Augustine, and the Sibyls in that della Pace, as well as the Heliodorus. In the life of Michael Angelo he refers afresh to " the intemperate behaviour which obliged him to quit Rome," and proceeds to observe that, when, after his return he had completed about half the work, the Pope immediately ordered it to be exposed to view; " whereupon Raphael d'Urbino, who was particularly happy at imitation, had no sooner seen it, than he adopted a different style, and forthwith produced the Prophets and Sibyls in the church della Pace." This brings us to a point of controversy debated with great warmth both in Italy and other countries. Bellori fiercely attacked Vasari in a pamphlet intitled—Se Raffaello ingrandì e migliorò la maniera per aver vedute l'opere di Michelangiolo—" Whether Raphael's enlargement and improvement of style were owing to his having seen the works of Michael Angelo." He was answered by Crespi, in three letters inserted in the *Lettere Pittoriche* (vol. ii. p. 323); while many others also have embraced one side or other of the controversy, and brought forward fresh arguments in support of their opinion.

This, however, is no fit opportunity to occupy the reader's time in tedious discussions. It was doubtless greatly to the advantage of Michael Angelo's fame, that he met with two scholars, who, while he himself was yet living, and when Raphael was no more, undertook to write his life; and greatly to the detriment of Raphael's that he did not meet with the like good fortune. Had he still been alive when Vasari and Condivi published their works, he would not have passed them over in silence. He might easily have proved, that when Bonarruoti fled to Florence, that is to say, in the year 1506, he himself was not

at Rome, nor was invited thither till two years afterwards; and that, therefore, he could not have obtained a furtive view of the paintings in the Sistine Chapel. Raphael might have proved, too, that from the year 1508, at which time Michael Angelo had not perhaps commenced his work, till 1511, the year that he exhibited the first half of it, he himself had been constantly aiming at a more elevated style; and that, as Bonarruoti had compassed this point by studying the Belvidere *torso*, so had he accomplished the same object, by studying not only the torso but other remains of antiquity, whose manner of design is plainly visible in his works. He might have asked Vasari in what he considered grandeur and majesty of style to consist; and might, both from the example of the ancient Greeks, and the reason of the thing itself, have taught him, that the sublime does not consist in an indiscriminate adoption of muscularity of limb or violence of gesture; but, as Mengs also has observed, in the selection of the nobler, and the neglect of the inferior and meaner parts, and in exciting elevated ideas by novelty of invention. Hence, by little and little, he might have pointed out to him what there was of sublime in the School of Athens, as it is called—in the majesty of the edifice, the contour of the figures, the disposition of the drapery, the gravity of countenance and demeanour; and might easily have traced the source of this sublimity to the remains of ancient art. And granting that he did adopt a more elevated style in his Isaiah, yet he might have confuted Vasari even by his own words, who, in another part of his history, makes this work anterior to 1511, and thus in some sort contemporary with the School of Athens: he might, moreover, have added, that he adopted this more elevated style with a view to meet the demands of the subject, and in imitation of the ancient Greeks. For the Greeks made a marked difference between ordinary men and heroes, and again between heroes and gods; and he, therefore, after having represented philosophers engaged in mere human disquisitions, might well be expected to take a loftier flight,

when he came to portray a being possessed by the divine spirit of prophecy. All this might Raphael have urged by way of answer, in order to clear himself and Bramante from the improbable imputation. For the rest, I suspect he never would have denied that Michael Angelo's works had inspired him with greater boldness of design, or that, in the expression of strong character, he had sometimes even imitated them. But how imitated them? "By rendering," as Crespi himself observes, "that very character more engaging and more majestic." (p. 344.) It is a strong circumstance in Raphael's favour that we are able to say:—Let any one, who would see what is wanting in the Sibyls of Michael Angelo, examine those of Raphael; and again, Let any one observe the Isaiah of Raphael, who would know what it is that is wanting in the Prophets of M. Angelo.

No sooner had public curiosity been gratified, and Raphael obtained a transient glimpse of this new style, than Bonarruoti caused the doors to be closed, and applied himself to the remainder of his great undertaking, which he completed towards the end of the year 1512; so that, on Christmas-day, the Pope was enabled to perform grand mass in the Sistine Chapel. In the course of this year Raphael portrayed, in the second chamber, the story of the Flagellation of Heliodorus in the Temple, at the prayers of Onias the high-priest—one of the most celebrated paintings in the Vatican. Here, in the vision that appears to Heliodorus, you might almost fancy you hear the thundering approach of the heavenly warrior, and the neighing of his steed; while, in the different groups of those that are ransacking the Temple of its treasures, and those that are intent on observing the sudden consternation of Heliodorus, without being able to divine the cause, we see expressed terror, amazement, joy, self-abasement, and every passion to which human nature is subject. By this painting, and the others in these chambers, "Raphael (as Mengs observes) imparted to the art every improvement of which it was susceptible after Michael Angelo." Here he intro-

duced the portrait of Julius II., whose zeal is expressed in the Onias. He is represented borne in by his attendants on a chair of state, as though he had come to look at the work. The Miracle of Bolsena, too, was painted during the lifetime of Julius.

The whole of the remainder of these chambers was painted during the reign of Leo X.; to whose imprisonment at Ravenna, and subsequent liberation, the Deliverance of St. Peter out of Prison by the Angel alludes. It was here that the painter afforded such admirable lessons in the management of light; thus the soldiers who stand without the prison are distinctly visible by the moonbeams reflected from their armour; then there is a torch which produces another and totally different light; while from the angel emanates a celestial splendour that emulates the brightness of the sun. Here, too, he afforded another memorable lesson in art; by shewing that the very impediments thrown in the way of invention may sometimes be turned even to its advantage: for the wall on which he was painting being divided by a window, he feigned on each side of it a flight of steps leading up to the prison, and on these steps disposed the guard overpowered by sleep—so that the painter seems not so much to have accommodated himself to the place, as the place to have been subservient to the painter. The story of St. Leo the Great, who dissuades Attila from marching forward with his army; and that in the next chamber, where we see the Battle against the Saracens at the port of Ostia, and the victory obtained over them by Leo IV., might alone justify Raphael's claim to the epic poet's crown: so well has he portrayed the warlike array of horse and foot, the various arms peculiar to each nation, the fury of the combat, the shame and grief attendant on defeat. Near this is another admirable piece, styled the Fire of the Borgo, miraculously extinguished by the same St. Leo. It is a spectacle which alternately chills the heart with horror, and melts it with compassion. The terrible effects of fire are carried to their utmost limits; the time being night, the flames raging over a

vast extent of ground, and their fury increased by a violent wind which seems to scatter about the burning embers, insomuch that you almost fancy you see them driven from house to house. The despair of the sufferers is also carried to its utmost bounds: some attempt to convey water, but are overpowered by the wind or driven back by the smoke; others seek safety in flight, barefoot, naked, and with hair dishevelled: there you behold women turning with imploring looks to the holy pontiff; here, mothers who tremble for their offspring rather than for themselves; there a youth, bearing on his shoulders his aged sire, and ready to sink beneath the weight of his helpless limbs, yet collecting all his might to convey him to a place of safety. The concluding pictures refer to Leo III.; such as the Coronation of Charlemagne by the hand of that Pontiff, and the Oath which the Pope takes on the New Testament, to exculpate himself from the calumnies laid to his charge. In this Leo we see expressed the features of Leo X., who is thus honoured in the persons of his predecessors of the same name: for Charlemagne is substituted Francis I., king of France; and, in like manner, in the retinue of attendants are represented various other personages who lived at the time; nay, there is not a picture in these chambers which does not contain the most accurate likenesses. Even in this branch of art, too, Raphael must be acknowledged supreme. His portraits have sometimes deceived even the best judges. For instance, he executed one of Leo X., which the Cardinal Datario, of the time being, one day approached with certain *bulls*, and pen and ink in hand, for the purpose of procuring the Pope's signature.

The six stories which refer to Leo, who was elected in 1513, were completed in 1517. During the nine years that Raphael was employed on these chambers, as well as during the three following, he was also busily engaged in the other decorations of the Vatican. Here he paved the way for the appropriate embellishment of royal residences; taking care to adopt the style

of ornament best suited to each part; so that the Pope's palace afterwards became a model both of magnificence and taste to all Europe. Of his merit in this respect, to which few have adverted, we shall here make distinct mention. Raphael had superintended the building of the new Loggia of the Vatican, availing himself partly of Bramante's design, and partly improving upon it. "He then prepared the designs for the stucco ornaments, and the small historical pieces painted there, as well as for the different compartments; and afterwards appointed Giovanni da Udine to superintend the execution of the stuccos and the arabesques, and Giulio Romano that of the figures. The exposure of this gallery to the inclemency of the weather has almost reduced it to the squalid appearance of the ancient grotesques; but they who saw it soon after it was finished, when the lustre of the gilding, the snowy whiteness of the stuccos, the brilliance of the colours, and the freshness of the marbles, made it resplendent with beauty on every side, must have been struck with amazement as at a vision of Paradise." Vasari says a great deal of it in these few words:—"that it was impossible, not only to execute, but even to conceive a more admirable work." The best preserved parts of this work are the thirteen coved ceilings, on each of which are distributed four historical pieces from Holy Writ; the first of which—the Creation of the World—Raphael executed with his own hand as a model for the rest; which, after they had been painted by his scholars, were, according to his usual custom, retouched and rendered uniform by himself. Their chief merit, however, consists in this, that we here have Raphael's invention, expression, and design; and, in this respect, all are agreed that each story is in itself a school. It would seem, too, as though he had even here aimed at emulating Michael Angelo, who had treated the same subject in the Sistine Chapel; and thus invited the public to judge whether he did not equal him. To give a suitable description of the other pictures in chiaroscuro, the numerous landscapes and architectural orna-

ments, the trophies, mock cameos, masks, and other subjects which this divine artist either designed himself, or formed into new combinations from the antique, would, as Taia has observed, be a task far beyond the reach of human powers.

Nor was there any other work carried on at the Vatican, whether in stone or marble, where a knowledge of design was requisite, that did not come under the inspection of Raphael, and on which he did not impress the marks of his taste; which was of the highest order even in the sister art of sculpture. Of this we have a proof in his Jonah, in the Chigi chapel at the church of the Madonna del Popolo; a figure executed by Lorenzetto under the direction of Raphael, and one which, according to Bottari, "might almost bear comparison with the finest efforts of Grecian art." His designs for the tapestries in the papal chapel, in which were represented the most remarkable events recorded in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, formed another admirable work. Raphael both designed and coloured the cartoons, which, after the tapestries had been finished in the Low Countries, passed over into England, where they still remain. Even in these tapestries, too, the art was carried to the highest pitch of excellence, nor has the world since beheld any thing to equal them in beauty.

Amidst all this variety of occupations, Raphael did not neglect to gratify the wishes of many private individuals, who were ambitious either of procuring from him designs for villas, (a subject in which he displayed exquisite taste,) or else of possessing pictures by him. The Casino of Agostino Chigi, (Farnesina,) which he himself embellished with the celebrated Galatea, is too well known to require any comment from me: there, too, with the assistance of his scholars, he afterwards depicted the Nuptials of Psyche, and at the marriage feast assembled all the heathen deities, with such propriety of form and character, of emblems, and of genii, that in fabulous subjects of this nature he has been placed almost on a level with the ancients them-

selves. These pictures, as well as those in the chambers of the Vatican, were retouched with incredible care by Carlo Maratta. Raphael also painted a good many altar-pieces, almost all of them containing various Saints; as, for instance, that which he painted for the Contesse at Foligno, where he introduced the Pope's chamberlain, looking more like a living being itself, than the representation of one; that which he executed for S. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna, representing St. Cecilia, who, rapt in heavenly melody, seems to forget her own instrument, which is on the point of falling neglected from her hands; that for Palermo, of Christ on his way to mount Calvary, called " the picture dello Spasimo," which, however much disparaged by Cumberland in consequence of its having been retouched, is still one of the noblest ornaments of the royal collection at Madrid; and those others for Naples and Placentia, which are recorded by his biographers. He also painted a St. Michael for the king of France, and so many more Holy Families and other devotional pieces, that neither Vasari, nor any other of his biographers, has ever furnished a complete catalogue of them.

But though the creation of such miracles of art was now passed into a habit with this celebrated painter, yet it was not to be supposed that every part even of his works would be equally admirable. It is well known that certain errors in anatomy, in some of his figures, both in the frescos of the Vatican and those of the Chigi Casino, did not escape criticism—errors committed, as Vasari says, by his scholars. Mengs, whose various writings shew that he changed his opinions with his years, insinuates more than once, that Raphael for some time seemed to slumber, not contributing to the advancement of art so much as might have been expected from his genius; and this probably happened during those few years that Michael Angelo absented himself from Rome. On M. Angelo's return thither, he heard it asserted by many, that Raphael's paintings were superior to his in " the charms of colouring, superior too in beauty, inventive-

ness, and gracefulness of composition, while they displayed a corresponding accuracy of design; whereas, with the exception of design, his works had no such merits to boast of."—(Vasari.) Galled by such reports as these, he began, as we have already observed, to patronize Fra Sebastiano, at once availing himself of his pencil, and furnishing him with designs. The most celebrated work to which this union of their talents gave birth, was a Transfiguration, in fresco, together with a Flagellation, and certain other figures, in a chapel of St. Peter's in Montorio. On a subsequent occasion, Raphael having to paint an altar-piece for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., Sebastiano, seemingly in competition with him, executed another on the same scale; Sebastiano taking for his subject the Resurrection of Lazarus—Raphael, with his accustomed spirit of emulation, the Transfiguration of our Saviour. We have here a painting which, according to Mengs, "possesses far greater beauties than any previous work of Raphael's. The expression is nobler and more delicate, the chiaroscuro more correct, the perspective more skilfully managed, the pencilling more exquisitely finished; there is, too, greater variety in the drapery, greater beauty in the heads, and greater elevation in the style." In this work he portrayed the mysterious scene that occurred on the summit of Mount Tabor; placing on the side of the mount a group of the Disciples; and, with the happiest invention, representing them engaged in an action suited to their powers, in order that this episode, as it may be called, might not exceed the bounds of probability. Here he has represented the demoniac boy, brought before them, in order that they might cast out the evil spirit that torments him; while in the fury of the possessed, the steady faith of the father, the affliction of a beautiful and interesting female, and the compassion evinced by the apostles, he has depicted the most pathetic story he ever conceived. And yet even all this excites not our admiration so much as the primary subject on the summit of the mount.

There the figures of the two Prophets and the three Disciples are truly admirable; but still more admirable is that of the Saviour, in which we seem to behold that effulgence of eternal glory, that tenuity and lightness *(sottigliezza)*, that air of divinity, which will one day bless the eyes of his elect. In this head of the Saviour, on which he lavished all his powers of majesty and beauty, we see at once the last perfection of art, and the last work of Raphael.

From this period he never more touched the pencil. Being soon afterwards seized with a fatal distemper, he expired with Christian resignation at the age of thirty-seven, in the year 1520, on Good Friday, which was also the anniversary of his birth; and this great picture of the Transfiguration was exposed to public view in the room where he had been used to paint, together with his mortal remains, previous to their interment in the church of the Rotunda. There was not an artist but was moved to tears at this affecting sight. Raphael's demeanour had ever been such as was calculated to win the affections of mankind. Respectful towards his master, he prevailed upon the Pope to allow what he had painted on one of the ceilings of the *Camere Vaticane* to remain untouched; just towards his rivals, he thanked God that he had been born in the days of Bonarruoti; kind towards his pupils, he was as warmly attached to them, and instructed them with as much care, as though they had been his children; courteous even to strangers, he freely lent his aid to all who asked his advice; and so far from being able to refuse a favour, could not even persuade himself to defer it; sometimes even neglecting his own works, either to prepare designs for others, or to give them directions in their studies. All this the spectators now mutually called to mind; at one time casting their eyes on his youthful corpse, and on those hands which, in imitating nature's works, had almost surpassed nature's self; at another, fixing them on that his last performance, which seemed to them the first fruits of a new and still more admirable style; nor could they help lamenting that, together with the life

of Raphael, the brightest prospects of art were thus suddenly come to an end. The Pope himself was deeply affected by his death, and, at his command, Bembo wrote that epitaph which is now inscribed on his tomb: indeed, not only all Italy, but all the polite world, regarded his death as a public misfortune. True indeed it is, that, soon after his decease, Rome herself and her whole territory experienced such dire calamities, that many had good reason to envy him not only the prosperity of his life, but also the opportuneness of his death. He was not doomed to witness the cruel sack of Rome! He was not doomed to see wasted by fire and sword that very city which his genius had so much contributed to embellish, and of which he had been, for so many years, the ornament, the delight, and admiration!

Raphael is now by common consent placed at the head of his profession; not because he surpassed all others in every department of painting, but because no other ever attained to such a degree of excellence in all the different branches of the art, taken together, as he attained to. Indeed, so multifarious and so difficult are the various branches of this art, that no one has ever yet been able to attain to perfection in them all. Apelles himself was said to yield to Amphion in gracefulness of disposition and harmony of arrangement, to Asclepiodorus in symmetry, to Protogenes in diligence of execution. (Plin. xxxv. 10.)

Design.—Raphael's style of design, as seen in those uncoloured drawings which now form the chief ornament of certain cabinets, presents us, if we may say so, with the express image of his mind: such is the accuracy of contour, the grace, precision, diligence, and genius, which they display. One of the most admired of these, called the Calumny of Apelles, I once met with in the Ducal Gallery at Modena; a most exquisitely finished specimen, and above all praise—combining the invention of the first painter of Greece, and the execution of the first painter of Italy. It has been made a question, whether Raphael was not inferior to Michael Angelo in design; and Mengs him-

self concedes the point, so far as regards the delineation of the muscles and the expression of strong character, in which he acknowledges that the former was content to imitate the latter. Yet we must not therefore join Vasari in asserting, that, "in the attempt to prove that his knowledge of anatomy was equal to Michael Angelo's, he in some measure impaired his reputation." On the contrary, in the figures of the two youths in the Fire of the Borgo, criticised by Vasari—one of whom, to avoid being burnt to death, is seen letting himself down from a wall, while the other is bearing away his father upon his shoulders—he not only proved himself to be intimately acquainted with the action of the muscles, and with anatomy in general, as far as was requisite in a painter; but shewed, moreover, on what occasions such knowledge might be displayed without ostentation; that is, in figures of a robust form, under circumstances of violent exertion.

In delicacy of style, Raphael has by some been placed on a level with the Greeks; but this must be deemed extravagance of praise. Agostino Caracci proposes him as a model of symmetry; and in this he no doubt made nearer approaches to the ancients than any other artist ever did; save that, as Mengs observes, he did not equal them in the drawing of his hands, owing to a want of examples to copy from; for in the ancient statues the hands are rarely found uninjured. He had the tact to distinguish between the beautiful and the true, and, as Mariette, who was rich in his designs, has observed, copied nature with all her imperfections; taking care to amend the different parts of these sketches whenever he availed himself of them in his works. He laboured more especially to give perfection to his heads; and from a letter addressed to Castiglione, on the subject of the Galatea at the Farnesina, we plainly see how studious he was of selecting all that was best in nature, and of perfecting it afterwards by the charms of ideal grace.—(Lett. Pittor, vol. i. 84.) He availed himself, too, of his mistress, the

Fornarina; whose portrait, by the hand of Raphael himself, was formerly in the Barberini palace, and whose features are discernible in so many of his Madonnas, as well as in the picture of St. Cecilia, at Bologna, and many others of his female heads. Critics have often expressed a wish that these heads had possessed a more dignified character; and, indeed, in this respect, it would seem that Raphael was confessedly surpassed by Guido Reni. So again, though his figures of children are very beautiful, yet those of Titian are still more so. His true province was the portraying of the heads of men, which, after he had selected them from nature, he always took care to invest with an air of dignity suited to the subject. Vasari says, that there is in the air of these heads something superhuman: he deservedly eulogizes the force and reality with which Raphael has delineated the different characters of age, simplicity, and faith, in the respective heads of his prophets, apostles, and martyrs. In the countenance of the Saviour, in the picture of the Transfiguration, he almost fancies he sees the Deity himself expressed, and made visible to mortal eyes.

Expression.—That which we have just noticed is one result of what is called expression, which in the paintings of Raphael has attracted more admiration of late years than it did formerly. It is not a little singular, that not only Zuccaro, (who to be sure was a very superficial writer,) but that Vasari, and even Lomazzo himself, so much more profound than either of them, should, in this respect, have failed to award him the due meed of praise, which he afterwards received from Algarotti, Lazzarini, and Mengs. Leonardo da Vinci was, indeed, the first to lead the way in delicacy of expression, as we shall prove when we come to treat of the Milanese school: yet that artist, who painted so little, and with so much labour to himself, cannot be compared to Raphael, who carried this quality to its utmost limit. There is not a single emotion of the mind, nor a single character of passion known to the moral philosopher, which he

has not caught, portrayed, and varied in a hundred different manners, and yet always within the bounds of propriety. We do not find it recorded of him, as we do of Da Vinci, that he constantly frequented public places for the purpose of catching these various expressions. The multiplicity of his pictures, too, proves that he could not have had time for such continued observation, while his designs plainly shew that he did not equally stand in need of it. Nature, as I have already remarked, had endowed him with a liveliness of imagination, which, transporting him in idea to the scene he was about to represent, however fictitious or remote, and thus making it in some sort real and present, rendered him capable of conceiving and of entering fully into those very emotions which the personages of the story must themselves have felt; nor did this vivid conception of his subject ever desert him till he had portrayed the emotions in question with that air of reality which he had either observed them assume in the countenances of others, or with which he had invested them in his own mind. This rare faculty, so seldom met with even among poets, and so much more seldom among painters, no one ever possessed in a more eminent degree than Raphael. His figures seem to be actually inspired with the different passions of love, desire, fear, hope, and joy: seem actually under the influence of anger, or else possessed with a spirit of placability, lowliness, or pride, just as best accords with the subject in hand: insomuch, that the spectator, on regarding the countenances, the expressive looks, and gestures of his figures, oftentimes forgets that they are but the work of art; he finds his own feelings excited, chooses his side, and fancies himself an actor in the scene before him. There is yet another delicacy of expression to be found in his works; and that is the felicity with which he depicts the various gradations of the passions whereby a man may perceive at once whether they are only just commencing their career, whether they are on

the increase, or whether they are already on the wane. He had, in his intercourse with the world, observed these varied shades of passion, and on all occasions he knew how to transfer to the canvass the observations that occurred to him. His very silence is eloquent; and every actor betrays his feelings by his looks:—

Il cor negli occhi, e nella fronte ha scritto.

Petrarch.

The slighter movements of the eyes, the nostrils, the lips, or the fingers, serve to indicate the first emotions of passion; the more animated and violent gestures express its intensity; and what is more, these gestures assume a hundred different shapes, without ever offending against the laws of nature, and conform themselves to a hundred different characters, without ever transgressing the bounds of decorum. His heroes look and act like heroes; his ordinary men, like beings of a lower sphere: and what neither tongue nor pen could ever hope to describe, that Raphael contrives to express by a few strokes of the pencil. In vain have numbers endeavoured to imitate him; his figures appear as if under the real impulse of mental feeling, while those of others, with the exception of Poussin and some few more, look as if conscious of acting a part, like players upon a stage. In fact, in this exquisite delineation of the various passions of the mind consists the grand merit of Raphael. And if it be acknowledged that this quality, called expression, constitutes the most difficult, the most philosophical, and the most sublime walk of art, who then shall dispute the palm with him?

Grace.—Another quality which Raphael possessed in an eminent degree was grace—a quality which may be said to impart an additional charm to beauty itself. Apelles, who was also endowed with this property in a very high degree, was so vain of the attribute, that, in consequence of it, he deemed himself superior to all the artists of antiquity.—(Plin. N. H. lib. 35,

c. 10. Quint. Instit. Orat. xii. 10.) Raphael rivalled him among the moderns, and thence derived the name of the modern Apelles. Some little improvement might perhaps be made in the contours of his infantine and other more delicate figures, but it would be impossible to add to their gracefulness: carry it but one step farther, and it would degenerate into affectation; as sometimes happened in the case of Parmigianino. His Madonnas, as Mengs observes, enchant us, not because they display the correct beauty of the Venus of Medicis, or the celebrated daughter of Niobe, but because in those expressive features, and those engaging smiles, he realizes all our ideas of modesty, maternal love, sweetness of disposition, in a word, of grace itself. Nor is this quality diffused over the countenance alone; he has invested every attitude, every gesture, every action, and every fold of drapery, with a graceful ease which we may indeed admire, but can never hope to equal. His very facility of execution formed a component part of this grace; which, in fact, ceases where labour and study begin:—for it is with the painter as with the orator; we listen with delight to a natural and spontaneous flow of eloquence, while we turn away with indifference from an artificial and studied harangue.

Colouring.—With regard to the art of colouring, Raphael must yield the palm to Titian and Coreggio, though in that also he surpasses Michael Angelo and a great many others. His frescos may, even for colouring, be placed on a level with the best of other schools; not so his oil paintings: in these he frequently availed himself of Giulio's assistance, whose pencilling was not altogether free from harshness and timidity; and though Raphael always put a finishing hand to them, yet they are often found to have lost the lustre of his last touches. This defect was not immediately perceptible, and had Raphael's life been spared, he would have been aware of the injury his pictures sustained from the lapse of time, and would not then have finished them in so light a manner. His first historical pieces in the

Vatican, executed in the time of Julius II., are, as regards the point in question, considered superior to those which he painted in the time of Leo X.; as though, when his occupations multiplied upon him, and he himself became ambitious of attaining a more elevated style, he began to neglect the strength and firmness of his colouring. But that he knew how to excel even in this is evident from his portraits; where, having no scope for the display of invention, composition, grace, or ideal beauty, he seems to have aimed at distinguishing himself by his colouring. His two portraits of Julius II.—the Medicean and the Corsinian —are truly admirable in this respect; as is also that of Leo X. between two Cardinals; and above all, (according to the opinion of that eminent connoisseur, Renfesthein,) the portrait of Bindo Altoviti, in the possession of his descendants at Florence, and by many regarded as the portrait of Raphael himself. The heads in his picture of the Transfiguration are also very highly esteemed for their colouring, which Mengs pronounces to be of the most exquisite description. If there is an exception, it is in the complexion of the principal female figure, which has a sort of greyish tinge, as is not unfrequently perceptible in the heads of his more delicate figures; which are therefore esteemed less perfect than those of his men.

Chiaroscuro—Perspective.—Mengs has taken greater exception to his chiaroscuro, compared with that of Coreggio; of the justness of which I leave it to connoisseurs to judge. At the same time, I find it recorded, that Raphael formed his chiaroscuro by the help of wax models; and the strong relief of his pictures, as well as the beautiful accidents of light and shade in the Heliodorus and the Transfiguration, are usually attributed to this practice. He also paid great attention to perspective. In some of his sketches, De Piles even found the scale of gradation (la scala di degradazione). Algarotti has asserted that he did not attempt that species of foreshortening called *di sotto in su*. This assertion we might rebut by an example still to be

seen under the third *arcata* of the Loggia Vaticana, where, observes Taia, "there is a perspective of small columns represented *al di sotto in su.*" It is true, however, that in his larger works he avoided it; and, with a view to give his pictures a greater appearance of nature, represented them as painted on a tapestry, attached by means of running knots to the ceiling of the room.

Invention.—But all the great qualities hitherto enumerated would not have gained Raphael such extraordinary celebrity had he not also possessed an astonishing felicity in the invention and disposition of his subjects, which was, in fact, the crowning merit of the whole. It may with truth be affirmed that, in this gift, he not only surpassed every example that had come under his notice, whether ancient or modern, but that no artist of recent date has ever yet approached him. In every one of his pictures he does what the orator ought to do in every one of his harangues—he instructs, moves, and delights us. The first of these is easy enough to the narrator, since he has it in his power regularly to unfold to us the gradual progress of an event. On the contrary, the painter can seize but a single moment to make himself understood; and it must be his endeavour to make us comprehend not only what is actually going on, but what is likely to ensue, and (which is still more difficult) what has already occurred. Here then it is that the genius of Raphael stands triumphant. He contrives to place the whole subject distinctly before our eyes. Amidst a thousand circumstances he makes choice of those only that are most significant; he disposes his actors in such attitudes only as are most expressive; he invents the most novel modes of conveying a great deal of meaning by a few strokes of the pencil; a hundred little niceties, all united in one story, render the whole subject not only intelligible, but even palpable. Various writers have instanced, as an exemplification of this, the St. Paul at Lystra—the subject of one of the tapestries in the Vatican. The artist has there represented the

sacrifice about to be offered up to Paul and Barnabas, his companion, as to two deities, on the occasion of their having restored the Lame Man to the use of his limbs. The altar, the attendants, the victims, the musicians, the buildings, the uplifted axe, sufficiently indicate the intentions of the Lystrians. St Paul, who is in the act of rending his garments, shews in the plainest possible manner, that he rejects, that he abhors the sacrilegious honour, and that, with all his might, he dissuades the people from offering it. But all this were of no avail, unless the miracle which had just been wrought, and which had given rise to the whole circumstance, were also brought back to our recollection. Accordingly, the man who had been restored to the use of his limbs appears in the picture, but in such a guise that we easily distinguish him from all the rest. He stands before the holy apostles elate with joy; he raises his hands in a transport of gratitude towards his benefactors; while at his feet are seen the crutches, upon which he had but recently supported himself, now cast aside as useless. This any other artist would have deemed sufficient; but Raphael, who sought to carry the reality of the scene to its utmost limit, introduced a crowd of figures, one of whom is seen lifting up the skirts of the man's garments, while the rest regard with eager curiosity the limbs that had been miraculously restored. This great painter abounds with similar examples, and resembles certain classic authors, who afford the more matter for reflection the more they are studied. Suffice it, however, to have thus briefly noticed, in the inventive powers of Raphael, those circumstances which, though the least apt to engage the attention, are always the most difficult of execution. The excitation of the feelings, which is wholly the work of expression; the delight which arises from poetical conceptions or pleasing episodes—these speak in a manner for themselves, and stand in no need of being pointed out.

To this head of invention we might refer various other merits of Raphael's works; as their unity, their sublimity, their cos-

tume, and keeping: nor need we go farther in quest of them than to those elegant little poetical pieces with which he embellished the *Loggie* erected by Leo X., and which, when engraved by Lanfranco and Badalocchi, were called Raphael's Bible. In the Return of Jacob, for instance, in the number and variety of domestic animals, the crowd of servants and of women bearing their little children along with them, who does not instantly perceive that it is one single family, migrating, with all its substance, from a spot where it had long been stationary to some new abode? In the Creation of the World, also, is not that figure of the Deity —who, with outstretched arms, is seen with one hand touching the sun, with the other the moon—an instance of the sublime, which, by the simplest language, awakens the most awful ideas. In the Adoration of the Golden Calf, too, how could he have better represented a ceremony blasphemous in its nature, and the very reverse of any thing like true religion, than by depicting a tumultuous throng intoxicated with frantic joy, and maddened by fanaticism? And then, for erudition, it would be sufficient to notice the Triumph of David, which Taia, in his description of it, compares with the ancient relievos; almost inclining to the belief that sculpture never produced a work in better taste or keeping. I am not ignorant that, in some of his other works, he has not always steered clear of error; as in representing the figure of St. Peter outside the prison, a fault which impairs the unity of the piece; and in assigning to Apollo and the Muses instruments unknown to antiquity. But it is the glory of Raphael that he introduced into the art so many delicacies and improvements unknown to his predecessors, and left so few to be added by those who succeeded him.

Composition.—Even in composition he stands at the head of his profession. In every one of his pictures the principal figure is at once obvious to the spectator; there is no occasion to seek for it: the various groups, however detached as to situation, are yet connected together by the main action; the contrast of the

different parts is dictated not by affectation, but by truth and propriety; not unfrequently, a figure, which stands absorbed in thought, serves as a foil to another which acts and speaks; the portions of the picture that are respectively thronged with figures, or destitute of them, as well as the masses of light and shade, are not the result of mere caprice, but of a strict imitation of the choicest nature. All is the effect of art, but of art so easy and unconstrained, that we lose sight of it. The School of Athens, as it is called, in the Vatican, is in this respect one of the most admirable compositions in the world.

Such is a cursory view of what Raphael, during the brief period of his career, contributed to the advancement of art. There is, indeed, scarcely a single work either of nature or art, in which he has not furnished a practical illustration of his own maxim, (handed down to us by Federigo Zuccari,) that things should be represented not as they are actually found to exist, but as they ought to exist. The entire face of nature, the different elements, the whole animal creation, the ornaments of architecture, as well as those derived from manufactures; every age, every condition, every affection of man—all have been depicted and rendered more lovely by the divine genius of Raphael.

A considerable number of pictures of his on sacred subjects are to be met with in different collections; more especially those of the Madonna with the Infant Jesus and other personages of the Holy Family. They are in all the three styles which we have already described; the Grand Duke of Tuscany has a specimen or two of each; and the most admired is that called the Madonna della Seggiola. With regard to this class of pictures doubts are often raised as to whether they ought to be taken for originals or copies; some of them having been repeated as many as three, five, or even ten times. The same may be said of certain other cabinet pictures, especially of the St. John in the Desert, in the Royal Gallery at Florence—

a picture to be met with in various collections both in and out of Italy. This would naturally happen in a school, where the plan usually adopted was this:—Raphael prepared the design, Giulio then proceeded to paint the picture, leaving it, however, to his master to give it the last finishing touches; which he did with such exquisite nicety, that sometimes one might almost count the hairs of the head. When these pictures had thus received the last degree of finish, they were copied by his scholars, of whom there was always a great number of second and third-rate merit; and these copies again were retouched either by Raphael or Giulio. No one, however, at all conversant with the freedom and softness of Raphael's manner, need fear confounding him with any of his school, not even with Giulio himself; who, besides betraying a more timid pencil, is more profuse than his master in the use of blacks. I have occasionally met with connoisseurs who have affirmed that Giulio's style may always be distinguished—by the darkness of his fleshes and the duskiness of his demi-tints, which latter have neither the leaden hue nor nice gradation visible in Raphael's—by the greater frequency of light—and by a greater degree of roundness in the eyes; those of Raphael being, after the example of Perugino, of a somewhat longer make.

Such was the auspicious commencement of that school which we call Roman, rather from the place of its foundation, than from the painters that adorned it. For as the inhabitants of that city, of whom the descendants of Romulus form but a small portion, are a medley of many different nations and languages; so her school of painting has always been thronged by a crowd of foreigners, whom she has incorporated with her own sons, and treated, in her Academy of St. Luke, just as if they had been born in Rome, or were entitled to all the privileges of genuine Romans. Hence was derived the great variety of discordant styles that we shall have to notice in the sequel. Some, as Caravaggio for example, derived no benefit from the study of

the remains of ancient sculpture, and other helps peculiar to the place; and these may rather be said to have been in the Roman school, than actually to have formed a part of it. Others adopted the maxims of Raphael's disciples; and their usual plan was to devote themselves chiefly to the study of Raphael's works, and the remains of antiquity; and from their imitation of the former, and more especially of the latter, results, if I mistake not, the general character, and, if I may use the expression, the peculiar idiom (l'accento proprio) of the Roman school. Being habituated from their youth to copy statues and relievos, and having objects of this nature continually before their eyes, they readily transferred the same forms to the panel or the canvass. Hence their design usually betrays vestiges of the antique, and their works have more of ideal beauty than those of other schools. But this study of the antique, though of great assistance to such as knew how to turn it to account, became absolutely detrimental to others; leading them to design figures that have the air of statues; beautiful, certainly, but too entire, and too inanimate. Others, again, have done themselves more harm by copying our modern statues of saints; an exercise which facilitates the representation of devotional attitudes, the disposition of the folds in the vestments of monks or priests, and other peculiarities not to be met with in ancient statuary. But as sculpture has in these latter ages been itself on the decline, it could of course be of no great assistance to the painter: on the contrary, it has led many astray into mannerism, from anxiety to dispose their drapery after the manner of Bernini or Algardi; eminent sculptors, certainly, but who ought not, therefore, in a city like Rome, to have had such influence over the art of painting as they contrived to acquire. In this school, the quality of invention is, in general, combined with taste, the composition is sober, the keeping correct, the love of ornament confined within due bounds; at least as far as regards oil paintings. Generally speaking, the colouring is not

the most brilliant, nor yet is it the most feeble; there having always been in this school a number of Lombard and Flemish painters, who prevented it from being totally neglected.

Raphael "at all times kept in employ a vast number of artists, whom he supplied at once with assistance and instruction;" whence, as Vasari informs us, he never appeared at court without being accompanied by above fifty painters, all of them of distinguished merit, who attended him out of respect. These he employed in the way best suited to the abilities of each. Some of them, having acquired what information they judged necessary, returned to their native place; others remained with him till his death, and even after that event still continued to reside at Rome—the first scions of Raphael's school. At the head of all was Giulio Romano, whom, in conjunction with Gio. Francesco Penni, Raphael had appointed his heir; whence these two took upon them to finish such works as their master had engaged to execute. With themselves they associated, as a third, Perino del Vaga, and, by way of drawing the bonds of this union closer, gave him a sister of Penni's to wife. These three were moreover joined by certain others who had worked under Raphael. At first they were in no great request, "for," says Vasari, "the first place in art being, through the influence of Michael Angelo, universally assigned to Fra Sebastiano, the followers of Raphael were all kept in the back ground." In 1521 followed the death of Leo X., and the election in his stead of Adrian VI., a sworn foe to the fine arts, who suffered the public works contemplated and already commenced by his predecessor to remain in an unfinished state: insomuch that, owing partly to this circumstance, and partly to the plague of 1523, a great number of artists were almost ready to die of want. Adrian, however, dying after a reign of twenty-three months, and Giulio de' Medici being, under the name of Clement VII., elected as his successor, the arts began to revive again. Raphael himself had begun to paint the great saloon of

the Vatican, having already finished one or two of the figures, and left designs for the completion of the remainder. It was intended to represent four historical events, one or two of them, to say the truth, usually considered somewhat apocryphal. The subjects were,—the Apparition of the Cross, or the Call of Constantine—the Battle between Constantine and Maxentius, in which the latter is drowned, and the former comes off victorious —the Baptism of Constantine, by the hands of S. Silvester— and his Donation of the city of Rome, conferred on the same Pontiff. The two first of these were executed by Giulio Romano, the remaining two by Penni; while underneath each story were painted sham relievos of a bronze colour, together with certain other figures. They next painted, or, to speak more properly, completed, the pictures of the villa at the foot of Monte Mario—a work ordered by Clement VII., while he was as yet no more than Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and suspended till the second or third year of his reign. This was afterwards called the Villa Madama, where there still exist, though greatly impaired by the hand of time, many vestiges both of the munificence of the prince, and of the taste of Raphael's scholars. Meanwhile, Giulio Romano, with the consent of the Pope, went and established himself at Mantua; Penni set out for Naples; and a short time afterwards, that is to say, in 1527, on occasion of the memorable sack of Rome, and in consequence of the ill treatment they had met with from the soldiery, Vaga, Polidoro, Giò da Udine, Peruzzi, Vincenzio di S. Gimignano, likewise quitted that city; as did also Parmigianino, who at that time happened to be at Rome, and had become an enthusiastic follower of Raphael. Thus was this illustrious school at once dissipated and scattered over all Italy; so that the new style was propagated with rapidity, and gave rise to the many florid schools, which will form the subjects of other sections. One or two of Raphael's followers returned to Rome, but the brilliant epoch, already described, was past. That

epoch cannot be brought down lower than the sack of the city; after which event the art daily declined in the Capital, till at length it ended in mere mannerism.

GIULIO ROMANO.

Giulio Pippi, otherwise called Giulio Romano, the most distinguished of Raphael's scholars, resembled his master more in energy than in delicacy of style; succeeding eminently in the representation of battles, which he depicted with equal spirit and erudition. In grandeur of design he almost rivals Michael Angelo; completely mastering the whole mechanism of the human frame, which he bends and accommodates to his purpose with unerring skill; save that now and then, from over anxiety to make his meaning plain, he is guilty of too much violence in his attitudes. Vasari prefers his sketches to his finished works; being of opinion that the warmth of the original conception was apt to cool during the progress of execution. Some condemn the swarthiness of his countenances, and indeed he is generally censured for the duskiness of his middle tints. Nicholas Poussin, however, referring to this harshness of colouring in the Battle of Constantine the Great, was accustomed to express his approbation of it, as being well suited to the fury of a combat. In the picture at the church dell' Anima—a Madonna surrounded by various saints—and in other similar subjects, it does not produce the same happy effect. His cabinet pictures are rare, and sometimes of a lascivious cast. He painted, for the most part, in fresco; and the vast works which he executed at Mantua must be sought under the head of that school, which looks up to him as its founder.

Il Fattore.—Gianfrancesco Penni, a Florentine, called also il Fattore, from the circumstance of having been, in early life,

employed in a menial station in the studio of Raphael, became afterwards one of the most successful in executing his master's sketches: he assisted him more than any other in the cartoons for the tapestries; and coloured in the *Loggie* of the Vatican the stories of Abraham and Isaac, noticed by Taia. Among the works of Raphael, completed by Penni after the former's death, many reckon the Assumption at Monte Luci in Perugia, of which the lower part, containing the figures of the Apostles, is by Giulio; while the upper part, which displays all the grace of Raphael's style, is said to be by Penni: true it is, however, that Vasari ascribes it to Perino del Vaga. Penni sometimes painted from designs of his own, though his frescos at Rome have perished, and his other pictures are so rarely to be met with in collections as to be almost unknown. He is said to have evinced great quickness in learning the different branches of the art, as well as much gracefulness of execution, and remarkable aptitude for landscape painting. Having been by Raphael appointed joint heir with Giulio Romano, he would gladly have formed a connexion with him a second time: but on his arrival at Mantua, being coldly received by Giulio, he proceeded to Naples, where, though he survived but a short time, he greatly contributed to the advancement of art.

Perino del Vaga, whose real name was Perino Buonaccorsi, a relative and fellow-citizen of Penni, also took part in the decorations of the Vatican; sometimes working at the stuccos and arabesques with Giovanni da Udine; sometimes, like Polidoro, painting chiaroscuros; sometimes finishing historical pieces, either after Raphael's sketches or in imitation of his style. In point of design, Vasari assigns him the first place among the Florentine artists, after Michael Angelo; and esteems him the best painter among all the followers of Raphael. This at least is certain, that, taking together all the branches of the art in which Raphael excelled, no one was so well able to enter into competition with Giulio Romano as he; and that the stories

from the New Testament, which he painted in the *Loggie Vaticane*, were more lauded even by Taia than were any of the rest. His style betrays many evident vestiges of the Florentine school; as may be seen at Rome in his Creation of Eve at the church of S. Marcello, where there are certain infantine figures that almost look as if they were alive—a work deservedly held in the highest repute. A monastery at Tivoli possesses a St. John in the Desert by him, with a landscape in the best taste. Lucca, Pisa, and more especially Genoa, also possess a considerable number of his paintings.

Giovanni da Udine also assisted Raphael in the arabesques and stuccos with which he embellished the Loggie Vaticane, the Sala of the Pontiffs, and various other places. Indeed, in this species of stucco work he is said to have been the first to lead the way among the moderns; having, after repeated attempts, at length succeeded in imitating the ornaments in the Baths of Titus, discovered about that time at Rome, and excavated afresh in our own days.

Polidoro da Caravaggio, at first a common labourer in the works of the Vatican, afterwards an artist of great celebrity, distinguished himself by his imitations of the ancient relievos; composing the most beautiful chiaroscuros out of subjects taken both from sacred and profane story. In this kind nothing has ever yet been seen more perfect, whether we consider the composition, the colour, or the design; in which, according to the opinion of many, Raphael and Polidoro made nearer approaches to the style of the ancients than any one else that ever lived. Rome at one time abounded with friezes, façades and *soprapporti*, painted by him and Maturino of Florence, his companion; but these, to the great detriment of art, have nearly all perished. The Story of Niobe alla Maschera d'oro, which was one of their most celebrated works, is also one that has suffered least from the ravages of time and the hand of barbarism. The loss of their other works is in some measure compensated by the prints

of Cherubino Alberti and Santi Bartoli, who engraved a considerable number of them while they were yet in good preservation. Polidoro lost his companion at Rome, who died, as was supposed, of the plague: he himself repaired to Naples, and afterwards to Sicily, where he fell a victim to the cupidity of his own servant—and with him seemed to perish invention, grace, and boldness of design.

Il Garofalo.—Benvenuto Tisi di Ferrara, or Garofalo, as he was called, continued but a short time with Raphael; but long enough to become one of the greatest ornaments of the Ferrarese school. In design, contour, expression, and for the most part also, in colouring, he imitated Raphael; except that he added something of a bolder and more fiery character, which seems to have been derived from his own school. Rome, Bologna, and other cities of Italy, abound with small pictures of his on subjects taken from the New Testament: they are of different degrees of merit, and not all of them entirely the work of his own hand. His larger pictures are more rarely to be met with; in these the Chigi gallery is the richest. His Visitation, in the Doria palace, is one of the most beautiful pieces in that vast collection. This artist was accustomed to introduce into his pictures a violet, or (as it is more commonly called in Italy) a garofalo—a circumstance from which he derived his name.

Roman School.

EPOCH III.

AFTER THE PUBLIC CALAMITIES OF ROME THE ART GRADUALLY DECLINES, AND SINKS MORE AND MORE INTO MANNERISM.

After the year 1527, Rome for some time continued in a state of stupor, contemplating her past and present condition; beginning even afterwards, like a shipwrecked vessel, but slowly to repair the damage she had sustained. The soldiery, among other injuries which they had committed in the Apostolical palace, had partly defaced some of Raphael's heads: and these, Fra Sebastiano, who was by no means equal to the task, was commissioned to restore. Such at least was Titian's opinion, who, being taken to see these chambers, and being ignorant of the circumstance, asked Sebastiano himself "who the presumptuous blockhead was that had daubed over those noble heads" —the verdict of an impartial judge, against which even the protection of Michael Angelo could not shield the unlucky artist. Paul III. was now in possession of the papal chair, and under his auspices the arts began again to revive; receiving nourishment, as it were, from the decorations carrying on at the Capraruola palace, and from other magnificent works undertaken by Paul himself and others of the Farnese family;—too happy, had they but been able to meet with another Raphael! Bonarruoti, as we have observed, was engaged in the service of the Pope; and furnished the Roman school with many specimens of art, but with no scholars of any note. After the death of Raphael, Sebastiano, freed from further competition, and honoured with the lucrative office of the Papal Seal, (del Piombo,) had given way to self indulgence; and, though always disinclined to work,

now sunk into downright indolence. Giulio Romano was now invited to return to Rome, and the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's offered to him; but his death put an end to this scheme. Nevertheless, Perino del Vaga returned thither, and might alone have effected the restoration of art, had he possessed as much magnanimity as he undoubtedly possessed ability. But he was far from being endowed with the generous spirit of his master: he taught with jealousy, and painted merely for the sake of gain, or, to speak more correctly, painted very little himself; but undertaking works of every description, whether of a high or low price, had them executed by his scholars, frequently to the prejudice of his own reputation.

What the state of painting actually was at this period, may be collected from a variety of works; but none of them are so celebrated as those in the Sala Regia, begun under Paul III., and scarcely finished in 1573, after an interval of thirty years. Of these Vaga had the superintendence, as Raphael had before had of the Camere Vaticane; planning the different compartments, decorating the ceiling, designing the stuccos, cornices, devices, and larger figures, and all in the style of an able master. He next proceeded to prepare the designs for his historical pieces, and, while engaged in this occupation, died in 1547. Through the influence of Michael Angelo, Daniel of Volterra, who had already worked at the stuccos in the same place under Vaga's direction, was now substituted in his room. Volterra conceived the idea of representing there the Donations of those Sovereigns who had extended or consolidated the temporal dominion of the Church (whence this chamber was called the Sala de' Regi)—an idea which, though in some degree departed from, was also in some degree followed up by succeeding artists. Volterra was naturally slow and irresolute; and after the celebrated Descent from the Cross, in the execution of which we have already stated him to have been materially indebted to M. Angelo's assistance, he produced no more such prodigies of

art. He had begun some few of the figures; but the Pope dying in 1549, he was, for the convenience of the conclave, under the necessity of removing the scaffolding, and exposing the figures to view in their unfinished state: these did not happen to be approved of, nor was the work prosecuted any further during the pontificate of Julius III. Still less was it likely to be prosecuted under Paul IV., during whose reign so little was painting in repute, that the figures of the Apostles, executed by Raphael in one of the apartments of the Vatican, were suffered to be effaced.

Under the reign of Gregory XIII., elected in the year 1572, commenced a most inauspicious period for the art; and still more was this the case under that of his successor, Sixtus V. These Popes erected or embellished so many public edifices, that scarcely can one stir a step in Rome, without meeting with the dragon or lion, the arms of those pontiffs. It is the foible of old men to be content with mediocrity in the works they order, from the fear of not living to see them finished should they insist on excellence. Hence those painters were the most sought after, who were endowed with the greatest celerity of execution; more especially in the days of Sixtus. Nor was a much more accurate style adopted even down to the time of Clement VIII., when a number of works were hastily finished, to meet the opening of the Anno Santo 1600. During these pontificates Rome swarmed with painters, derived not only from every part of Italy, but from almost every other country; just as the same city swarmed with poets in the days of Domitian, and with philosophers in those of M. Aurelius. Each brought with him a style of his own; while many, from the hasty manner in which they executed their works, even rendered that style still worse. Thus painting, especially fresco-painting, degenerated into a mere mechanical exercise—an imitation, not of nature herself, for to that no attention was paid, but of the capricious ideas that sprang up in the heads of different artists. Nor was the colour-

ing better than the design. At no period do we meet with such an abuse of simple colours, at no period such languor of chiaroscuro, or such an utter neglect of harmony. These are the mannerists that have filled the churches, the convents, and saloons of Rome with their figures. Nevertheless, even this period is not altogether to be despised; having itself produced a few artists of some note, the relics, as it were, of the preceding more auspicious age.

THE TWO ZUCCARI.

Taddeo and Federigo Zuccari have the reputation of being the Vasaris of the Roman school. As that artist professedly trod in the steps of M. Angelo, so these aimed at treading in the steps of Raphael. The sons of one Ottaviano, (an indifferent painter of S. Angiolo in Vado,) they came to Rome in succession, and both there and in other parts of the Papal State, produced a vast number of works; some good, some indifferent, and some, in which they allowed their pupils to take part, absolutely bad. A dealer, who had in his possession specimens of every kind, was wont, like, a retailer of drugs, to ask his customers whether they wanted a Zuccaro of Holland, of France, or of Portugal; intimating that he had them at all prices. Taddeo, the elder of the two, was at first under the care of Pompeo da Fano, and afterwards of Giacomone da Faenza. From the latter, and other Italian artists of merit, whose works he copied with unwearied industry, he acquired sufficient knowledge of the profession to bring himself into notice. He adopted a style which, though not the best or the most correct, was yet unconstrained, and, if we may so say, popular, and much to the taste of such as look not for the sublime. He is like certain orators, who, without possessing any elevation of fancy, contrive to keep alive the attention of the multitude; who thus, from the perspi-

cuity of their language, understand all they say, and find or think they find, truth and nature in every expression. His pictures may be styled collections of portraits; the heads are beautiful, and the parts of the figures exposed to view, though they do not court the eye of the spectator, like those of the Florentines, by their frequency or their studied character, are yet not neglected; the dresses, the ornaments, and the cut of the beard, are those of the times in which he lived; the arrangement is remarkable for simplicity, often resembling that of the older masters in making the figures in the foreground of the picture visible only down to the middle, as though they stood upon a lower plane. He frequently repeats the same features, as well as his own portrait: in his hands and feet, as well as in the folds of his drapery, he displays still less variety, and hence not unfrequently violates the rules of symmetry.

Rome contains some vast fresco-paintings of Taddeo's, among the best of which we may place certain historical pieces from the New Testament, at the church della Consolazione. He painted but little in oil. Urbino contains a Pentecost in the church dello Spirito Santo; it also possesses another altar-piece or two of his, which may be reckoned among his least successful performances. He is more pleasing in some of his small cabinet pictures, in which he proves himself a most finished painter. But not one of his works does him so much credit as the pictures in the Farnese palace at Capraruola. They represent the actions of such of the Farnese princes as distinguished themselves in civil or military affairs. There are also other pieces from sacred and profane story, the most celebrated of which is the *Stanza del Sonno*. Strangers, who are continually visiting Capraruola, often return with a better opinion of this Zuccaro than they had carried with them thither. True it is, that there were employed there, both in conjunction with him and after his death, a number of youthful artists, his equals, if not his superiors, whose works must not be confounded with

his, though it is not always a very easy matter to distinguish them. Like Raphael, he died exactly at the age of thirty-seven; and his monument is in the Pantheon, near the monument of that great master.

Federigo, his brother and his scholar, was like him in taste, but inferior to him in design; betraying more mannerism than Taddeo, more capriciousness of ornament, and a more crowded style of composition. In the Sala de' Regi, the Sala of the Farnese palace, at the Trinità de' Monti, and elsewhere, he completed those works which his brother Taddeo had, at his death, left unfinished; and thus began to make a figure by what might, in some sort, be called the legacies bequeathed by his brother. By this means he was esteemed equal to the greatest undertakings, and was invited by Francis I. to paint the great cupola of the Florentine Cathedral, which Vasari had commenced just before his death. Federigo there executed more than three hundred figures, each of them fifty feet in height, to say nothing of his Lucifer, which was " so gigantic that it made the other figures look like those of children;" for so he himself informs us, adding, that they were the largest the world had ever seen. But the vastness of the work was its only recommendation. After the finishing of this cupola, there was scarcely a work of any magnitude at Rome that did not seem due to Federigo's pencil; whence Gregory recalled him to paint the ceiling of the Paoline Chapel, and thus give the last finish to a work begun by a Michael Angelo. While there, in consequence of certain accusations brought against him by some of the courtiers, he painted and exposed to public view an allegorical picture of Calumny*, in which he represented his accusers with asses' ears; whereupon

* The above is not the great picture of the Calumny of Apelles painted in water colours for the Orsini family, and afterwards engraved. This latter is in the Laute palace, and may be considered as one of the most studied of Federigo's works.—*Lanzi.*

the latter raised so great an outcry against him before the Pope, that, for safety-sake, Federigo was fain to fly from Rome. From that city he absented himself for some years, during which he travelled through Flanders, Holland, and England; and was afterwards invited to Venice to paint the story of Frederick Barbarossa's prostrating himself at the feet of the Pope, still to be seen in the Ducal palace. The Pope being at length appeased, Zuccaro returned to finish the work which had been interrupted in the manner stated, and which was perhaps the best that he ever executed at Rome without the assistance of his brother. Federigo built himself a house on Monte Pincio, and adorned it with frescos—portraits of his own family, *conversazioni*, and other curious and novel subjects, executed with the assistance of his scholars and with very little care; and here, more than any where else, he appears a trifler—the fitting leader of a degenerate school.

He afterwards proceeded to Madrid at the invitation of Philip II.; but his performances not meeting with the approbation of that court, all that he did was defaced and supplied afterwards by Tibaldi; while he himself was sent back into Italy, though not without a handsome pension. Towards the close of his life he undertook another journey; visiting the principal cities of Italy, and leaving specimens of his works with all who chose to employ him. On his way back to his native place, he fell sick at Ancona, and died there in the year 1609.

D'ARPINO.

Giuseppe Cesari, also called the Cavaliere d'Arpino, was a name as celebrated among painters, as that of Marino was among poets. The taste of the age was already sufficiently depraved to prefer the false to the true, provided it was but recom-

mended by show and glitter; and these two, each in his proper sphere, seconded and promoted the prevailing error. Both of them possessed great abilities; and it is an old observation, that the fine arts, like democracies, frequently sustain the greatest detriment from the greatest geniuses. Cesari's abilities began to develop themselves even in his boyish years: he soon attracted the admiration of the more discerning, became the protégé of Danti, and procured from Gregory XIII. the necessary helps to push his fortune; insomuch that in a short time he acquired the reputation of being the first painter in Rome. Some pictures, executed in conjunction with Giacomo Rocca, from designs by M. Angelo, (in which Giacomo was very rich,) were the first things that brought him into notice; but at that period reputation was to be had on cheaper terms. The multitude were captivated with the air of facility, the fire, the hurry, and the crowds of figures, which his historical compositions displayed. His horses, which he drew in a masterly manner, and his heads, which he invested with powerful expression, won the admiration of the many: few noticed the incorrectness of his contours, few the monotony of his extremities, the want of meaning in the disposition of the drapery, the faulty perspective, and the defective accidents of light and shade. Caravaggio and Annibal Caracci were among those few: with them Cesari had some words, and challenges were exchanged in consequence. Cesari did not accept the challenge of Caravaggio, because the latter was not yet a cavalier; and Annibal Caracci declined that of D'Arpino, alleging that the pencil was his only weapon. Hence the greatest difficulties these two eminent artists had to contend with at Rome, in the reform which they contemplated, were the obstacles opposed by Cesari, his scholars, and his adherents.

D'Arpino outlived both these artists more than thirty years, and left behind him a still more degenerate race—progeniem vitiosiorem. He, however, after all, was born a painter, and in

an art embracing such variety and difficulty, had genius enough to atone, in some measure, for his defects: he was eminently successful in the colouring of his frescos, possessed a natural felicity and exuberance of fancy, imparted a degree of animation to his figures, and invested them with a grace, which Baglione, though professing principles totally different, could not help admiring. Baglione has, moreover, pointed out two distinct styles in Cesari's works. The one deserves commendation: it is that in which he represented the Battle between the Romans and the Sabines, in the Capitol—a fresco painting, preferred by some to all his other works. The other is remarkable for its freedom and negligence; and this he adopted but too frequently, partly through impatience of study, partly through old age; as may be seen in three other stories in the same apartment of the Capitol, painted forty years after the first. His works are almost innumerable, not only in Rome, but at Naples also, at Monte Casino, and in various cities of the Ecclesiastical State; to say nothing of the pictures despatched to foreign courts, or painted for private individuals. For the latter, indeed, and even for persons in the lower ranks of life, he wrought more willingly than for princes; with whom, like the Tigellius of Horace, he was fond of appearing rude and untractable; aiming at making them solicit his services, and affecting to disregard them: so much had his vanity been flattered by the applauses of a degenerate age.

Roman School.

EPOCH IV.

BAROCCI AND OTHER PAINTERS, SOME OF THEM SUBJECTS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE, SOME OF THEM FOREIGNERS, CONTRIBUTE TO THE REFORM OF THE ROMAN SCHOOL.

THE works of Gregory and Sixtus, and many of those of Clement VIII., while they well nigh divested the Roman school even of all relish for correct taste, contributed at the same time to the restoration of it. Rome, by affording the best mart for pictures of every description, became at length the resort of the best painters; as it had been before in the time of Leo X. Every city sent thither its most distinguished artists, just as of old every city of Greece sent its bravest inhabitants to contend for the palm and the crown at the Olympic games. Barocci, a native of Urbino, was the first to lead the way to a more correct method. He had formed himself upon the style of Coreggio—a style the best adapted to reform an age that had grown negligent in every branch of the art, but more especially in colouring and chiaroscuro; and happy had it been had he continued at Rome, and been entrusted with the direction of those works which were consigned to Nebbia, Ricci, and Circignani! At Rome, however, he was for some time, and assisted the Zuccari in the apartments of Pius IV.; but was obliged to quit it in consequence of some pretended friends having, out of envy, had the abominable treachery to administer poison to him—a circumstance which so impaired his health, that he was never afterwards able to paint save a little at a time, and that at long intervals. On his departure from Rome, however, he remained a considerable time at Perugia, and still longer at Urbino; send-

ing his pictures, from time to time, to Rome and other places. From these pictures, as we have already observed, the Tuscan schools derived great benefit by means of Cigoli, Passignano, and Vanni; nor can I help thinking that Roncalli and Baglione also profited by them, when I consider certain works of both these artists to be met with in various places.

However this may be, these five were, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the highest repute, as men who disdained to conform to the corrupt taste of the times. It had been in agitation even as early as the time of Clement VIII. to decorate the Basilica Vaticana with various pieces from the life of St. Peter, on which it was proposed to employ the most distinguished artists—a design, the completion of which occupied a long period; it being found necessary afterwards to copy these works in mosaic, inasmuch as the paintings themselves were not proof against the dampness of the church. The five artists above mentioned were selected to paint each of them one of these pieces; and Bernardo Castelli, one of the most distinguished of the Genoese school, was the sixth, and the least esteemed. These artists were all liberally paid, and the first five raised to the rank of cavaliers; thus affording the rising generation a proof that the reign of mannerism was on the decline. Caravaggio also gave it another severe shock by that style of his which bears the very impress of nature; and Baglione informs us, that this artist, while still a youth, by the great applause that he obtained, excited the jealousy of Federigo Zuccari, then advanced in years, and entered into competition with Cesari, who had at one time been his master. But the most fatal blow the mannerists received was from the Caracci and their school. Annibal Caracci arrived in Rome a little previous to the year 1600, invited thither by the Cardinal Farnese, for the purpose of painting the celebrated Farnese ceiling —a work which cost him the labour of eight years, and for which, incredible as it may appear, he received no more than

five hundred crowns! Other works of his are to be found in the different churches. Lodovico, his cousin, was with him at Rome for a short time; Agostino, his brother, for a longer period: indeed, during the whole of his stay there, he was not without some of his scholars; among whom were a Domenichino, a Guido, an Albani, a Lanfranco. They visited that city at different periods, but not till they had made sufficient progress, not only to assist their master, but to execute (as in fact they did) works from designs of their own.

Rome had for some years witnessed only two extremes in painting. Caravaggio and his followers merely copied nature, without attempting to embellish it; D'Arpino and his scholars carried their love of fanciful embellishment too far. Annibale taught the way at once to imitate nature, and yet to set it off with the charms of ideal grace, as well as to add to the effect of ideal beauty, by making truth of representation the foundation on which it rested. At first he was charged with coldness and insipidity, because he did not choose to give into affectation and extravagance; or rather because great merit never yet escaped without a great deal of envy. But let Envy do her worst; let her have recourse to the meanest shifts and subterfuges, and call in the aid of patronage, of friendship, intrigue, and arrogant pretension: she may perhaps boast the paltry pleasure of persecuting a man of genius, but never will she be able to blind the public—that impartial judge of individual merit, whose decisions even princes dare not disregard. The Farnese Gallery was at length exhibited to view; and in it Rome beheld a grandeur of style which, next to the Sistine Chapel and the Chambers of the Vatican, might well entitle it to the first place in art. Then was it perceived that the preceding pontiffs had lavished their treasures only for the corruption of art; and that the true secret by which the great might hope to effect its restoration was briefly this,—to be cautious in their choice of artists, and liberal in their allowance of time. Not long after this,

therefore, (though too long, it must be confessed, inasmuch as Annibale was now no more,) but still no great while after this, was issued an order of Paul V., that the public works should be apportioned to the Bolognese; for so were the Caracci and their pupils at that time styled. Thus was a sort of new leaven introduced into the Roman school, which, if it did not wholly divest it of its former extravagance, yet in great measure repressed it. The reign of Gregory XV. (Lodovisi) was but of short continuance; but from his giving the preference, as was very natural, to those of his own country, it was highly favourable to the Bolognese; of whom Guercino da Cento, though a follower of Caravaggio rather than of Annibale, was looked upon as one. He was employed more than any of the rest in the church of St. Peter's and at the Villa Lodovisi. Next followed the pontificate of Urban VIII., an auspicious period both for poetry and painting, though certainly more auspicious for the painter than the poet; since, besides the Caracci and their school, it could boast a Poussin, a Cortona, and the best landscape painters the world has ever seen. Nor did the Pope, or the Cardinal his nephew, and others of the same family, cease to afford employment to the more distinguished artists, either in St. Peter's, or their own palaces, or the new church of the Capuchins; where the altar-pieces were distributed between Lanfranco, Guido, Sacchi, Berrettini, and other celebrated men. The same system was pursued by Alexander VII., (a prince of great taste,) as well as by the succeeding pontiffs.

BAROCCI.

Federigo Barocci might, if we considered only his age, be referred to the former period; but his merit makes me rather refer him to this, in which I include the reformers of the art.

The principles of the profession he acquired from Batista Franco, a Venetian by birth, but a Florentine in point of style. Under the direction of this master, during his residence at Urbino, Barocci designed and attentively studied the remains of ancient sculpture. Going afterwards to Pesaro, he exercised himself in copying the works of Titian, and was taught geometry and perspective by his uncle Bartolommeo Genga, an architect, the son of Girolamo. From thence proceeding to Rome, he acquired a more correct method of design, and adopted the style of Raphael. In this style he painted the St. Cecilia for the cathedral of Urbino, as well as the still better and more original picture of St. Sebastian—a work which Mancini, for solidity of taste, preferred to every other performance of Barocci's. But the sweetness and gentleness of his character led him, as it were, instinctively, to imitate Coreggio; after whose manner he designed, at the church of the Conventuals in his native city, the delightful picture of St. Simon and St. Jude.

Nevertheless this was not the style that he made choice of for his own: he adopted a more free imitation of that eminent model. In the heads of his infantine and female forms he resembled him pretty closely; as well as in the easy flow of his drapery, the correctness of his contours, and the skilful foreshortening of his figures: but his design is in general less grand, and his chiaroscuro less ideal: his colours, though they display something of the lucid richness and nice selection of Coreggio's rainbow tints, have neither the same strength nor truth. It is, however, truly wonderful to see his colours, notwithstanding their diversity, become so intimately blended under his pencil, that no piece of music was perhaps ever better arranged to gratify the ear, than one of his pictures to please the eye. This effect is in great measure to be attributed to his judicious management of light and shade, to which he devoted so much of his attention, and which he may be said to have

been the first to introduce into the schools of Lower Italy. For the better management of light and shade, he used to form little statues of chalk or wax; an art in which he yielded not to the most expert sculptor. For the composition and expression of every figure he consulted truth. He would try his models in various positions, for the purpose of ascertaining whether a certain attitude appeared forced or not, till he had in every case hit upon that which was the most natural; thus, in every garment, and in every fold of it, he did not introduce a line that was not to be found in the model. Having completed the design, he prepared a cartoon of the same size with the intended picture, and then pressing it down closely upon the *imprimitura*, or prepared ground of the canvass, traced the outline with a *stile:* he next proved the disposition of his colours in a smaller cartoon, and afterwards proceeded to transfer it to the larger work itself. But before he began to colour his picture, he formed his chiaroscuro with the utmost care, after the method of the old masters; of which method he left some traces in a Madonna surrounded by various saints, which I met with in the possession of the Albani family at Rome—a picture, the colouring of which the author was, I suspect, prevented from finishing by his death. Another of his pictures, also unfinished, and therefore very instructive and highly prized, is at Perugia, in the possession of the Graziani family. In short, perfection was his object in all his works—an object which can hardly fail to ensure excellence to all to whom nature has not been niggard of her favours.

Bellori, who wrote the life of Barocci, has also given us a catalogue of his pictures. There are but few of them that do not treat of sacred subjects; as a few portraits, for instance, and that picture of the Burning of Troy which he painted on two separate pieces of canvass, one of which now adorns the Borghese Gallery. With the exception of these, his pencil was dedicated to religious subjects, to which it seemed best adapted:

so devout, so amiable, and so well calculated to awaken sentiments of piety, are the feelings which his pictures express. In the church of the Minerva, at Rome, is his picture of the Institution of the Lord's Supper—a work ordered by Clement X.; in that of the Vallicella are the two pictures of the Visitation and the Presentation. Urbino, besides the pictures already noticed, and certain others, has a St. Francis at his Devotions, in the possession of the Capuchins, and, in the possession of the Conventuali, the great picture of the *Perdono*, on which he spent seven years. The perspective, the beautiful play of light, the expressive looks of the numerous figures, the colouring and harmony of the whole work, can hardly be conceived by one who has not seen it. The author himself entertained a high opinion of it, inscribed it with his name, and etched it. An Annunciation of his at Loreto is a most beautiful performance; as is also the unfinished one at Gubbio; the Martyrdom of S. Vitale, in the church of that name at Ravenna; and the *Misericordia*, painted for the cathedral of Arezzo, and afterwards transferred to the royal gallery at Florence. A similar picture exists in the hospital of Sinigaglia, copied by the scholars of Barocci, who, in very many of the churches of the territory of Urbino and of Umbria, as well as in some of those of the *Piceno*, have repeated the pictures of their master; and sometimes with such felicity, that one would almost fancy he had retouched them himself.

The same may be said of certain cabinet pictures of his, which are found repeated in various galleries; such as that of the Virgin adoring the Infant Jesus, which I met with in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the Bolognetti palace at Rome, and in another palace at Cortona, and which, moreover, I find mentioned in the catalogue of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. A head of his—an *Ecce Homo*—is also frequently found repeated; as are certain of his Holy Families, which he varied in the most admirable manner. In one of these I have seen St.

Joseph represented asleep; in another, I have seen him described as lifting up the *portiera* of a door in the house of Zacharias; in another, (which was removed from the sacristy of the Jesuit church at Perugia to the residence of the Pope,) in the act of plucking some cherries for the Infant Jesus—a work which seems to have been designed to rival those of Coreggio. Bellori remarks that it attracted great admiration, and that Barocci therefore repeated it several times.

Barocci's style was diffused throughout the duchy of Urbino and the neighbouring parts; though his most successful imitator was Vanni of Siena, who had never studied at Urbino. Barocci's scholars were very numerous; but as they generally remained in their own country, their ideas were not taught to expand, and few of them caught the true spirit of their master's style; most of them contenting themselves with its mere outside —the colouring.

CARAVAGGIO.

Michael Angelo Amerighi, or Morigi da Caravaggio, is one of the most celebrated painters of this period, inasmuch as he recalled the art from mannerism to truth, as well in his figures, which he invariably drew from nature, as in his colouring, which, dispensing with the vermilions and azures then in vogue, he composed of few but true tints, after the manner of Giorgione. Annibal Caracci used to say in his praise, that he ground flesh rather than colours—" costui macinava carne"—and, with Guercino and Guido, not only greatly admired him, but profited also by his example. Having been initiated in the first rudiments of the art at Milan, and having proceeded from thence to Venice to study the works of Giorgione, he adopted at first the subdued style of shadowing which he had learnt from that consummate master; a style in which there still exist a few of Caravaggio's

works, and those the more admired of his performances. Subsequently, however, yielding to the impulse of a temper naturally turbulent and gloomy, he took to representing objects with scarcely any light, overcharging the shadows of his pictures most unmercifully. His figures have all the appearance of being placed in a dungeon, where hardly a ray of light glimmers, and that entering from above. Thus his grounds are always of a dark colour; his figures all lie in the same plane, and his paintings exhibit very little gradation of tint (degradazione); and yet they enchant us by the powerful effect that results from this strong contrast of light and shade. In his works we must not look for correct design or studied beauty. The speculations indulged by others with a view to impart an air of dignity to their heads, or to hit upon a more graceful disposition of the drapery, or to transfer to their canvass the elegance of Grecian sculpture, were the objects of his ridicule: with him nothing was beautiful that was not natural. There is in the Spada palace a S. Anna of his, intent on some feminine occupation, with the Virgin by her side; both of them remarkable for the vulgarity of their appearance; both of them attired in the dress of Roman peasants: portraits, no doubt, of the first matron and the first maid that chanced to come in his way. Such, indeed, was his usual practice: nay, he even seemed to take the more pleasure, the more he could indulge in the extravagant; overcharging his pictures with rusty armour, broken vessels, garments of an antiquated make, bodies of an emaciated or deformed appearance. Hence some of his altar-pieces have subsequently been removed from the altars where they were placed; particularly the one which was at the Scala—the Death of the Virgin—whose corpse was there represented hideously swollen.

A few of his altar-pieces are to be seen at Rome, among which is the Madonna of Loreto at the church of St. Augustine: the best, however, is the Deposition from the Cross, at the church of the Vallicella, which contrasts admirably with the gaiety of Baroc-

ci's, and the sweetness of Guido's style, specimens of both which are to be seen over the adjacent altars. He was most commonly employed on cabinet pictures; painting, on his first arrival in Rome, flowers and fruits, and afterwards oblong pictures with half-length figures—a custom much in vogue after his time. In these we meet both with sacred and profane subjects—drunken revels, scenes of fortune-telling, hagglings in the market-place. The Supper at Emmaus, in the Borghese palace—the S. Bastiano at the Capitol—the story of Hagar with the famished Ishmael, in the Doria palace—are much admired; as is also the picture of the Fruit Girl, where all is nature itself—both the principal figure and its accessories. Still more successful was he in representing brawls, murders, and acts of nocturnal treachery; vices to which he was himself but too much addicted, and by which he rendered his life miserable and his name infamous. It was in consequence of a murder he had committed that he left Rome, and abode some time at Naples: from thence he passed over to Malta, where, (after having been honoured with the Order of the Cross by the Grand Master, on account of the exquisite skill he had displayed in the picture of the Beheading of St. John, to be seen in the oratory of the Conventual Church,) he picked a quarrel with one of the knights of Malta, and was thrown into prison. Escaping from thence at the hazard of his life, and remaining some time in Sicily, he resolved to return to Rome; but had proceeded on his journey no further than Porto Ercole, before he died of a malignant fever, in 1609. In the above-mentioned countries he painted a variety of works, as may be seen from his life, written at considerable length by Giovanni Pietro Bellori.

His school, or to speak more correctly, the crowd of imitators that went on increasing after his death, did not produce a single bad colourist: it has, however, been vehemently charged with offending both against keeping and design.

Gerard Hundthorst is usually styled Gherardo dalle Notti,

from having produced few pictures except candle lights; and in these he was inimitable. He took Caravaggio for his model, adopting only what was more commendable in his style—the colour of his fleshes, his vivacity, and his grand masses of light and shade; aiming at the same time to become correct in his contours, elegant in his forms, graceful in his attitudes, and equal to represent even sacred subjects with propriety. His works are very numerous; and the Prince Giustiniani possesses one of the most celebrated—the picture of our Saviour presented by night before the Judgment Seat of Pilate.

CARACCESCHI.

Let us now advert to the Caracci and their school. Annibale, previous to his visit to Rome, had already formed a style in which there was nothing to be desired, save a closer imitation of the antique in point of design. This he added to his other accomplishments on his arrival in Rome: and those of his scholars who followed him thither*, and continued to paint in that city even after his death, are particularly distinguished by this characteristic, from those who continued at Bologna under the tuition of his cousin Lodovico. These disciples of Annibale also had their scholars at Rome; not one of whom, however, except Sacchi, approached so near in merit to his master, as they had done to Annibale; not one, like them, became the discoverer and founder of an original style.

* Domenichino, Guido, Albani, Lanfranco.

ANDREA SACCHI.

Andrea Sacchi, a pupil of Albani's, is, next to Raphael, the best colourist of the Roman school: he ranks too among the foremost in design—a branch of the profession which he cultivated till his death. Profoundly versed in the theory of art, he was on that account fastidious and slow of execution. It was a saying of his, that the merit of a painter consists less in producing a number of indifferent works, than in producing a few good ones; accordingly his pictures are rare. His compositions do not abound with figures; but each seems indispensable to the place it occupies; and the attitude of each appears not so much to have been chosen by the painter, as dictated by the subject. Though Sacchi did not shun the elegant, yet he seems to have been born for the grand: in his works we find dignity of mean, majesty of attitude, facility and simplicity of drapery, sobriety of colouring; together with an uniform regard to keeping, which confers a degree of harmony on the objects he represents, and affords a grateful repose to the eye. In every thing he seems to be above minuteness; after the example of the ancient sculptors, always leaving some parts of his figures imperfectly developed. His picture of St. Romuald, seated in the midst of his monks, is reckoned one of the four best altar-pieces in Rome: and yet the subject was a difficult one to treat; the monotonous whiteness of the garb of these monks being but ill adapted to produce a good effect in painting. Sacchi, however, had the judgment to hit upon an expedient which will ever be commended and admired: close beside the group he depicted a large tree; taking care to place some of the figures in its shade, and thus producing an admirable variety of colour out of what seemed to promise nothing but monotony. His Death of St. Anna at S. Carlo a' Catinari, his St. Andrew at the Quirinal, his St. Joseph at Capo alle Case, are also very beautiful pic-

tures. Perugia, Foligno, and Camerino, also possess altar-pieces of his that are the pride of those cities.

SASSOFERRATO.

Giambatista Salvi, called, from the place of his nativity, Sassoferrato, whom we have already had occasion to notice when speaking of Carlo Dolci and those devotional pictures of his, was also an imitator of the Caracci; though of what particular school is not known. Sassoferrato surpasses Dolci in the beauty of his Madonnas, but yields to him in exquisiteness of finish. Their style is dissimilar; Salvi having formed his on other models. He studied at first in his native place under his father Tarquinio, then at Rome; and afterwards at Naples, under what masters is not exactly known, except that in his own memoirs we read of one Domenico. The period at which Sassoferrato pursued his studies at Naples corresponds to a nicety with the time Domenichino was employed there, and his style of painting shews that he was an admirer of that master; though not of him only. There are still in the possession of his descendants many copies from the works of the most eminent masters, which he executed for his own improvement: among them I have noticed several of Albani, Guido, Barocci, and Raphael, reduced to a small scale, and, as one might say, breathed upon the canvass. They retain possession also of some little landscapes of his own composition, and a great many portraits of Saints; several of them of St. John the Baptist, but more especially of the Virgin. Without possessing the ideal beauty of the Greeks, he has yet another species of it peculiarly adapted to the character of the Virgin; in whose looks he makes humility more especially predominate; while the simplicity of the dress and of the manner of arranging the hair corresponds with the style of countenance, without in

any degree detracting from its dignity. His works evince a full-flowing pencil, great beauty of colouring, and a high degree of relief from the judicious management of light and shade; but in the local tints they betray some few vestiges of a hard dry manner. He delighted in forming heads for the most part with a portion of the bust, of which a great number are to be met with in different collections: but few of his portraits are as large as life; though of that size, or larger, is a Madonna of his with the Infant Jesus, in the Casali palace at Rome. Even the picture of the Rosario, which he painted at S. Sabina, is one of the smallest to be found in Rome. It is, however, well composed and painted *con amore*, insomuch that it is looked upon as a perfect jewel. For the rest, the largest picture of his in existence is over one of the altars of the cathedral of Montefiascone.

TUSCANS.

Besides the Bolognese, various Tuscans, whom Paul V. employed on the decoration of St. Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore, also contributed to the improvement of the Roman school; as well as certain others, who, though they took no part in that decoration, are yet worthy of being recorded on account of the pupils they reared there*.

Pietro da Cortona.—Comodi and Ciarpi were, as it is said, Pietro da Cortona's masters, and from that circumstance, as well as from having been born in the Florentine territory, he is by many placed in the school of Florence; though others refer him to that of Rome; and in fact he went thither at the age of fourteen, carrying with him from Tuscany little more than

* One of the most distinguished of these Tuscan artists was Cristoforo Roncalli, otherwise called the Cav. delle Pomarance.

a genius of great capability; and there, as we have already noticed, he made himself an able architect, and, as a painter, became the head of a school distinguished for freedom and tastefulness of style. Whoever would know to what lengths he carried this style in frescos and works on a large scale should inspect the Sala Barberini at Rome; although the Pitti palace, at Florence, certainly presents us with performances of his more elegant, more fascinating, and more studied in the various parts. Whoever again would know to what lengths he carried it in his altar-pieces should examine the Conversion of St. Paul, in the Capuchin church at Rome, which, though placed opposite to Guido's St. Michael, nevertheless fails not to excite the admiration of such professors as are willing to admit various styles of beauty in art.

Cortona's works are by no means rare at Rome and in the Ecclesiastical State: they are to be met with also in the other states of Italy; and are always the more attractive, the more he has made a display of architectural ornaments. The S. Ivo at the Sapienza of Rome, and the Titular Saint at S. Carlo a' Catinari, in the act of succouring those infected with the plague, are compositions vast enough to dismay the boldest copyist: the Preaching of St. John, in the church of the Dominicans at Imola, is another work on a very large scale. The picture of the Virgin between Pope St. Stephen, and other Saints, in the church of St. Augustine at Cortona, is a very elaborate work, and esteemed one of his best performances. There is also a delightful picture of the Nativity of the Virgin in the Quirinal palace. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in the church of St. Ambrose at Rome, is also a very beautiful work; as is the Daniel in the Lions' Den, in the church dedicated to that prophet at Venice, which, in composition, excels, and even in colouring equals, the many rival works of the Venetian school amongst which it is placed. His historical pieces are by no means rare in the collections of the Roman nobles. In the Capitoline gal-

lery is the Battle between the Romans and the Sabines, a work full of fire and spirit: in the possession of the Mattei family is the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, exhibiting half-length figures more studied and elaborately finished than are usually to be found in his works.

FOREIGNERS.

A MORE arduous task than that of recording the Italian artists of the Roman school, would be the enumerating the foreigners who are comprised in it. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Peter Paul Rubens repaired to Rome while still a youth, and left some oil paintings both at the church of the Vallicella and that of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Not many years afterwards Antonio Vandyke also went thither with intent to remain there some time; but as the rest of the Flemish painters, of whom there were a considerable number at Rome, felt indignant at his refusing to mix with them in taverns, and join them in their dissipated mode of life, he very soon quitted that city.

About the year 1630, Diego Valasquez, the great ornament of the Spanish school, also studied in Rome, where he remained for the space of a year. He returned thither during the pontificate of Innocent X., whose portrait he painted in that peculiar style of his, which he was said to have derived from Domenico Greco, a pupil of Titian's at the court of Spain. By this portrait Velasquez renewed the wonders that are related of Raphael's portrait of Leo X., and Titian's portrait of Paul III.; this picture having actually deceived some, who took it for the Pope himself.

NICHOLAS POUSSIN.

Bellori, who wrote the life of Poussin, makes him to have arrived at Rome in 1624, and represents him as already a proficient in the art, having formed his style rather from engravings of Raphael's works than from the instructions of a master. In that city, however, he improved his style, or rather, he acquired a different one, in which he may be looked upon as a sort of legislator. Poussin has shewn the proper method to be pursued by any one who visits Rome with a view to prosecute painting. The remains of antiquity afforded him lessons which he could not have expected to receive from masters. In the Greek statues he studied the beautiful, and from the Meleager of the Vatican (now recognised as a Mercury) he derived his rules of proportion; the triumphal arches, the pillars, the vases, and sarcophagi of antiquity, supplied him with accessories by which to attract the admiration of the learned world. As a model of composition, he fixed upon the Nozze Aldobrandini, a remnant of antiquity; and from this picture and the ancient relievos, he derived that skilful management of contrast, that propriety of attitude, and that frugal introduction of actors, of which he was ever afterwards so strictly observant; being accustomed to say, that a single half-figure more than was necessary was sufficient to spoil a whole picture.

Leonardo da Vinci, from the chasteness and exquisite finish of his works, could not but be a favourite with him; accordingly he embellished that artist's treatise on painting with figures designed with his accustomed purity of taste. He followed Leonardo in theory, and imitated him in precision. In colouring, Titian was his favourite model. It would seem, however, that he soon desisted from his application to this branch of art; and that, in point of colour, the best pictures of his are those which he first executed at Rome. He dreaded lest his anxiety on this

head might divert him from the more philosophical part of painting, for which he possessed an extraordinary aptitude; and to this he turned his most serious and continued attention. In the animation of his figures, in the faithful expression of the various passions, in seizing the true point of action, in the art of giving to understand more than is expressed, and in furnishing materials for fresh reflection to such as return a second or third time to examine his well-conceived and profound compositions—in all this he took Raphael for his model. In painting, indeed, he carried the spirit of philosophy even farther than Raphael; and not unfrequently executed pictures which consist of nothing more than a mere moral conveyed in a poetical manner. Thus in that picture of his at Versailles, intitled the *Memoria della Morte*, he has represented a group of youthful shepherds and a damsel at the tomb of an Arcadian, on which is inscribed this epitaph:—*Fui Arcade anch'io.*

For such elegance of invention the natural penetration of his mind had hardly sufficed, had it not been aided by an acquaintance with the best classic authors, the conversation of men of letters, and the suggestions of the learned. He paid especial deference to Marini's advice, and, where the style of Italian poetry was not the point in question, might do so with advantage. The art of modelling, in which he succeeded to admiration, he practised under Fiammingo; for perspective he consulted the writings of P. Zaccolini; for the study of the naked figure he frequented the academy of Domenichino and that of Sacchi: he moreover made himself intimately acquainted with anatomy; and exercised himself in copying the most beautiful landscapes from nature—in which he not only acquired exquisite taste himself, but also contributed to improve that of his relative Gaspar Dughet, of whom we shall shortly have to speak. I think it no exaggeration to say, that the art of landscape painting, which was improved by the Caracci, was by Poussin brought to perfection. His genius was less calculated for large figures

than for those of a smaller size: in general he painted them of about a palm and a half in length, as in his famous Sacraments, which were in the Boccapaduli palace; sometimes of two or three palms' length, as in the Plague at the Colonna palace, and in other pieces. There are other pictures of his to be met with at Rome, as—the Death of Germanicus, at the Barberini palace—the Triumph of Flora, at the Capitol—and the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, in the Pope's collection at Monte Cavallo, afterwards copied in mosaic for St. Peter's. Though established at Rome he contrived to visit Paris, where he held the post of first painter to the court: on his return to Rome after a lapse of two years, this appointment was confirmed to him, so that though absent he enjoyed the same place and emolument. After this period, he resided at Rome for the space of three-and-twenty years, and there ended his days. It is not long since a marble bust of him, with an appropriate panegyric, was placed in the church of the Rotonda, on the suggestion and at the expense of the Cav. d'Agincourt.

LANDSCAPE PAINTERS.

The three celebrated landscape painters, whose works are so eagerly sought after in the collections of the great, flourished in the time of Urban—Salvator Rosa, a Neapolitan, an elegant and witty satirist—Claude Gellée, a native of Lorraine—and Gaspar Dughet, otherwise called Poussin, and, as I have already observed, the relative of Nicholas Poussin. Fashion, which is too often allowed to dictate even in the fine arts, has successively brought into the highest vogue each of these three, and thus, at Rome, has even compelled painters to copy and adopt the style first of one, and then of the other.

SALVATOR ROSA.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Salvator Rosa was the most in fashion. The scholar of Spagnoletto, and the descendant, as one may say, of Caravaggio, as, in large historical pieces, he delighted in the gloomy style and air of nature which predominate in that great master's works; so, in landscapes, he seems to have adopted a maxim of copying them without regard to selection, or rather, of selecting their least pleasing elements. To use Dante's words, *(le selve selvagge,)* wild forests, inaccessible mountains, rugged rocks, dark caverns, fields deformed with thickets and stumps of trees, were the scenes in which he most delighted; trees that were either shattered, or torn up by the roots, or bent towards the ground, were such as he most frequently represented: even in his skies he seldom introduces colours of a lively hue, far less the brilliant effects of the great luminary that cherishes the earth. His sea-pieces have a proportionate share of the same peculiarities. And yet this style of his, independent of its novelty, gratifies the eye by its very wildness; just as dry wines are grateful to the palate. The little figures, too, of shepherds, sailors, and more especially soldiers, which he has inserted in almost all his landscapes, contribute not a little to the charms of his pictures; though he was criticised by his rivals for thus continually repeating the same ideas, and, as it were, copying himself.

In these small figures he is thought to have succeeded better than in those of a larger size, inasmuch as he was more practised in them. He introduced them constantly into his landscapes, composing out of them either historical pictures, as the celebrated Attilius Regulus in the Colonna palace, or fancy pieces *(capricci,)* as the Witchcrafts to be seen in the Capitol and in many private collections. In these he is never select, nor always correct; but he displays vivacity, facility of execution,

tastefulness of colouring, and harmony of arrangement. For the rest, he has shewn more than once that his talent was not confined to the representation of small figures. There exist certain altar-pieces of his that are well conceived and of powerful effect, more especially where the subject was one of horror; as the Martyrdom of certain Saints, in the church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini at Rome; the Purgatory which I saw in that of S. Gio. delle Case Rotte at Milan, and in the church del Suffragio at Matelica. We have also some pictures of his from profane story, containing large figures, and those well executed; such as the conspiracy of Catiline, in the possession of the Martelli family at Florence, and mentioned also by Bottari as one of his best performances. Salvator Rosa quitted Naples at the age of twenty, and established himself at Rome, where he died when about sixty years of age. His remains were deposited in the church of the Angeli, together with his portrait and an epitaph. There is in the Chigi gallery at Rome another portrait of his, in a picture the subject of which seems to have been misunderstood by Pascoli. The picture represents a gloomy forest; a poet is seen seated there, (the features being those of Salvator Rosa,) and before him stands a Satyr—an idea allusive to the satiric style of poetry in which he indulged. The description, however, which the historian gives of the piece is this:—"Pindar under the influence of poetic inspiration, and the god Pan appearing to him."

GASPAR POUSSIN.

Gaspar Dughet, or Poussin, a native of Rome, resembled Rosa only in celerity: each of them could finish a landscape, and even decorate it with figures, on the same day that he began it. For the rest, Poussin selects all the most beautiful elements of landscape the earth affords—spiry poplars, spreading plane-

trees, limpid fountains, enamelled meads, gently sloping hills, villas calculated to allay the heats of summer, and form the delight of the great. All that the Tusculan or Tiburtine territory, or even that of Rome itself, possesses of the beautiful, where, says Martial, nature has combined in one view all the separate charms which she has scattered elsewhere—all this did Poussin transfer to his canvass. He also composed imaginary landscapes; in this resembling Torquato Tasso, who, in describing the gardens of Armida, concentrated in those charming verses of his all the ideas of the beautiful with which his observations had supplied him.

Notwithstanding this passionate pursuit of the lovely and the graceful, many are of opinion that there is not, in the annals of art, a greater name than that of Poussin. Nature had endowed him with a sort of fervour, and, if we may so say, a language which expresses more than meets the eye. To give an instance of this: in certain of his larger landscapes, such as those of the Doria palace, we now and then observe a path made to wind about with the most ingenious intricacy, discovering itself here and there to the eye, but in other parts leaving us to follow it with the imagination. In Poussin's works all is nature. His leaves are as varied as those of the different trees themselves; the only charge brought against him being the want of greater variety in their tints, in which he adheres too exclusively to those of a greenish hue. He succeeded in portraying not only the dawn of morning, the blaze of noon, the sober twilight of evening, and the various aspects of a tempestuous or a serene sky; but sometimes represented to admiration even the agitation caused by a light breeze among the leaves, the fury of a whirlwind rending and uprooting the trees of the forest, or the awful magnificence of a thunder-storm. Nicholas, who had taught him to select the more beautiful elements of landscape, served also as his guide in the figures and the accessories. Even in Gaspar's paintings all breathes elegance and erudition: his

edifices betray a predilection for the antique: if the scene is laid in Greece or the neighbourhood of Rome, we are presented with triumphal arches, and broken columns; if in Egypt, we meet with pyramids, obelisks, and the idols peculiar to that nation. The figures he introduces are not those of shepherds and their flocks, as in the productions of the Flemish school; in general they have some connexion with history or classic fable; sometimes we see parties enjoying the sport of hawking, poets crowned with laurel, and other similar subjects of a less trite nature, and not unfrequently finished with as much care as though they had been illuminations.

CLAUDE LORRAINE.

Claude Lorraine is now esteemed the prince of landscape painters; nor can there be a doubt that his compositions are the richest and most studied of any. Little time is requisite to run over a landscape of Poussin's or Salvator Rosa's, compared with one of Claude's, though of much smaller dimensions. A landscape of Claude's presents to the spectator an endless variety; such multiplied prospects of land and water attract the eye, such an infinity of curious objects is it made to pass over, that, like a traveller, it is forced to pause and take rest; in short, so remote appear the mountains or the sea-coasts in the distance, that the eye in some sort feels the fatigue to be encountered in reaching them. The templets, which serve so well to round off the composition—the lakes, covered with aquatic birds—the leaves, made to assume a different aspect according to the different nature of the trees—all with him is nature; every thing is calculated to arrest the attention of the amateur, or to afford instruction to the artist; especially when he painted with more than ordinary care, as in the Altieri, Colonna, and

other palaces at Rome. There is not a single effect of light which he has not contrived to imitate either in the reflection of water, or in the sky itself. The various changes of the day are no where better seen than in the landscapes of Claude. In a word, we may truly call him a painter who, in depicting the three kingdoms of air, earth, and water, has given "an accurate representation of the whole of the visible world." His skies have almost always the impress of the sky of Rome, whose atmosphere is, from its situation, of a somewhat hazy, glowing, and roseate cast. His figures have but little merit: they are insipid, and in general disproportionately long. Hence he used to tell those who bought his pictures, that he sold the landscapes, but made them a present of the figures. Indeed, he frequently caused them to be added by some other artist, especially by Lauri*.

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* Under this fourth epoch, the nature of my plan compels me to omit—Enrico Uroom, who distinguished himself by his fidelity in the representation of ships—Agostino Tassi, Pietro de Mulieribus, Tempestino, and Montagna, who were equally distinguished for the representation of storms and sea-pieces—and the celebrated Jacopo Cortese, styled, from the name of his native place, il Borgognone, and famed for his battle-pieces. In them, as Lanzi expresses it, "we might almost fancy we hear the tumult of battle, the neighing of the steeds and the shrieks of the dying; insomuch that his scholars used to say, that their soldiers appeared to sham fight, while Borgognone's seemed to fight in good earnest." Under this epoch, also, Lanzi notices Passeri and Baglione, but rather as biographers than painters.

Roman School.

EPOCH V.

CORTONA'S FOLLOWERS, BY THEIR INJUDICIOUS IMITATION OF HIS STYLE, DO PREJUDICE TO THE ART: MARATTA AND OTHERS SUSTAIN IT.

THE fine arts, like the *belles lettres*, never continue long stationary: he who lives to old age rarely leaves them at his death such as he had found them at his birth. Many causes conspire to produce this change—public calamities, such as we have seen to have occurred after the death of Raphael—the fickleness of the human mind, which is apt to be taken with novelty in the fine arts, almost as much as with novelty in dress—the credit and influence of certain artists—the capricious taste of the great, who either themselves selecting, or permitting others to select, certain masters to superintend works of importance, tacitly point out the path to be trod by those who aspire at distinction. These and other causes occasioned a decline in the Roman school towards the end of the seventeenth century; and that, too, at a time when literature was beginning to revive—a clear proof that literature and the fine arts do not necessarily flourish together.

The Cav. Bernini, celebrated as an architect, but not so celebrated as a sculptor, was, during the pontificates of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and even down to 1680, the year in which he died, the arbiter, as it were, of the works carried on at Rome. A foe to Sacchi, and a favourer of Cortona, he promoted his friend's interest in preference to that of his rival. Nor had he any difficulty in so doing; inasmuch as Cortona was as remarkable for industry and rapidity of execution, as Sacchi was for tardiness and irresolution; qualities which drew down upon him

the displeasure of his patrons themselves. In process of time, Bernini taking it into his head to patronise Romanelli in preference to Cortona, and to turn him and others to the cultivation of painting, contrived to tincture even this branch of art with his own style; which, however beautiful it may be, has still something in it of mannerism, especially in the folds of the drapery. Thus the way being opened to caprice, the true maxims of art began to undergo a change for the worse, and false ones to be substituted in their stead; nor was it many years before a number of pernicious principles became established in the studios of the different painters, especially in those of the Cortoneschi. Some, as Bellori attests in his life of Carlo Maratta, even went so far as to condemn all imitation of Raphael; while some ridiculed the study of nature as useless, deeming it better servilely to copy the figures of others. The consequences are visible in the pictures of the time. The heads, even in the works of different painters, are, like those of Cortona's, remarkable for the size of the lips and nose; and, as regards their features, would all seem to be the offspring of one and the same family; so strong is the resemblance between them. Every thing tended to diminish diligence, and to promote facility, to the prejudice of correct design.

The schools most in repute, after the death of Sacchi, which occurred in 1661, that of Berrettini, which took place in 1670, and that of the more distinguished Carracceschi, were reduced to two—Cortona's which was promoted by Ciro Ferri, and Sacchi's, which was promoted by Maratta. The former tended to enlarge the ideas of the painter, but led to negligence of execution; the latter precluded negligence, but tended to fetter the imagination. Each school adopted some of the peculiarities of its opposite; and not always the best: some of the Maratteschi affected Cortona's studied contrast; and some of Ciro's followers did not disdain to imitate Maratta's style of drapery. Cortona's school succeeded best in frescos, and boasted the greatest num-

ber of pupils; the other was most successful in oils, and reckoned fewer adherents. They may be looked upon as rival schools, each having been supported by a party of its own, and indiscriminately patronised by the different pontiffs till Ciro's death, that is, till 1689. From that time Maratta began to give a tone to art, and under Clement XI., whose master he had been in design, was made superintendent of the various works carried on at Rome and Urbino by the direction of that pontiff. Although he was not without able competitors, yet he always contrived to keep his ground and retain his pre-eminence; and when he was no more, his school still flourished till the pontificate of Benedict XIV. Lastly, he paved the way for the new styles of Subleyras, Batoni, and Mengs*.

CARLO MARATTA.

Carlo Maratta, who was born at Camurano, near Ancona, enjoyed the reputation of being one of the first painters of Europe in his time. In a letter of Mengs', "On the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Art of Design," the author bestows this panegyric on Maratta: "that he prevented painting from degenerating at Rome so much as it had done at other places." During the early part of his life he devoted a good deal of his time to copying the works of Raphael, of which he was a professed admirer; and he did his utmost to restore the pictures of the *Camere Vaticane* and the Farnesina to such a state, that they might be transmitted to remote posterity—a task that required great labour and judgment. His genius was not calculated for works on a grand scale; hence neither he nor his scho-

* Besides Ciro Ferri, the more distinguished Cortoneschi here omitted are—Carlo Cesi—Francesco Romanelli—and Benedetto Luti.

lars were very ambitious of undertaking frescos or large compositions. At the same time he was not afraid to engage in works of this kind; on the contrary, he readily set about the task of decorating the cupola of the cathedral at Urbino, which he covered with a crowd of figures. This work, together with the cupola itself, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1782; but the sketches are still preserved there in four pictures at the Albani palace. Nevertheless, had he followed his own inclination, he would always have confined himself to the execution of cabinet pictures, or rather, of altar-pieces. His Madonnas combine an amiable modesty with an air of dignity; his angels are full of grace; his saints are distinguished by the noble character of the heads, and the attitudes of devotion in which he has placed them. In Rome his pictures are the more prized the more they approach to the style of Sacchi; as the S. Saverio at the Jesuit church, a Madonna at the Panfili palace, and various others. Some of these are to be found beyond the territories of the Church: thus the Martyrdom of S. Biagio at Genoa is of this character—a picture of which I do not stop to inquire the date, but content myself with observing that it is worthy of the greatest rival Sacchi ever had. He afterwards adopted a different style, less elevated certainly, yet one that for accuracy might well be proposed as a pattern. After having helped his invention by means of his designs, he revised the whole by a comparison with nature; and, not satisfied with that, returned even at an advanced age to seek for elegance of contour in the figures of Raphael, whom he took for his model, though without losing sight of the Caracci and Guido. But by aiming too much at accuracy, he is by many thought to fall into minuteness; his works losing in spirit what they gain in elaborate finish. What is least to be commended in him is the disposition of the drapery; where, from over anxiety to appear natural, he formed a system by which he fritters away its masses, exposes parts of the body to view apparently without sufficient reason, and sometimes impairs the elegance of

his figures. In the general appearance of his pictures there prevails a certain degree of opacity; one of the marks by which some pretend to distinguish the works of the Maratteschi. And, in fact, his method was to concentrate the principal light on a single object, keeping it rather too much subdued in the other parts of the picture: but his followers, as usually happens, pushed this system a great deal too far, making their pictures sometimes look as if enveloped in a sort of mist.

Though rarely, yet he has now and then produced a painting of extraordinary size; as the S. Carlo in the church of that name on the Corso, and the Baptism of Christ at the Certosa, copied in mosaic for the Basilica of St. Peter's. His other pictures are for the most part on a smaller scale; many of them are in Rome, and among these the charming picture of S. Stanislaus Kostka, over the altar where his ashes repose; not a few in other cities, as the S. Andrea Corsini in the chapel of the Corsini palace at Florence, and the St. Francis of Sales at the Filippini of Forli, which is one of his most studied performances. He was occupied a great deal in painting for the collections both of sovereign princes and of private individuals. There is not a single palace at Rome which does not possess a picture or two of his, especially that of the Albani family; a family to which he was warmly attached. In the Ecclesiastical State his pictures are by no means rare. The copy of the Battle of Constantine, in the possession of the Mancinforti family at Ancona, deserves particular notice. It is said that, being requested to get that piece copied, he proposed the task to a pupil of his who was already an expert painter, and that the latter rejected the commission with disdain. He himself therefore set about it, and exhibiting it when it was finished, took occasion to remind the more youthful artists, that the copying such works as these may well benefit the most accomplished masters.

RAPHAEL MENGS.

Raphael Mengs, a native of Saxony, went to Rome while very young, being taken thither by his father, a tolerable miniature painter, and therefore a correct and precise draughtsman. Having instilled the same taste into his son, he exercised him in designing Raphael's figures; and, in the severest, or rather, the most inhuman manner, punished every error he committed by flogging and almost starving him. Being compelled to aim at perfection, and guided by a natural quickness of genius to penetrate into its principles, by little and little he found himself in a condition to afford Winckelmann very important assistance in his "History of Art," as well as to publish several profound treatises of his own on the subject of painting; works that have contributed in no small degree to the improvement of the present age. These works have different titles, but they all aim at the same end—to point out what it is that constitutes perfection in art.

The artist shadowed out by Mengs, is like the orator sketched by Cicero—an imaginary being, so perfect, that, as that great man observed, the world never has, and probably never will see the reality. In fact, it is the duty of every one who takes upon himself the office of a teacher, to propose only what is best and most perfect, in order that we may at least attain to what is respectable and worthy of commendation. Assuming this, therefore, I would defend certain passages of his writings, in which he appears to some to have set himself up as a dictator in painting; presuming to criticise not only Guido, Domenichino, and the Caracci; but even the three great painters themselves whom he proposes as models in the art. Mengs, most assuredly, was not so infatuated as to hope to appear superior to those consummate masters; but being well aware that no one ever produces a work so perfect, but that it might still have been made more perfect,

he undertook to shew where each of them had reached the highest pitch of excellence, as well as where each of them had fallen short of it. The perfect painter, therefore, according to Mengs' conception of him, (and to this degree of perfection he not only aspired himself, but was anxious that all others should aspire,) must unite in himself the design and ideal beauty of the ancient Greeks, the expression and composition of Raphael, the chiaroscuro and gracefulness of Coreggio, and, finally, the colouring of Titian.

Mengs is, so to speak, not a whetstone which imparts to the steel a degree of keenness which the whetstone never acquires; he is rather the steel itself, which becomes the sharper and brighter the more it is used. He became painter to the court of Dresden; and there every fresh work was an instance of further progress. He then went to Madrid, where, in the various apartments of the royal palace, he represented the assembly of the gods, the different parts of the day, and the various seasons of the year, with imagery at once the most fascinating and appropriate. Returning afterwards to Rome to renew his studies, and from thence repairing a second time to Madrid, he painted in a saloon at that palace the Apotheosis of Trajan, and, in one of the theatres, Time flying off with Pleasure—pictures that are very superior to the former. Rome possesses three works of his on a large scale—the picture on the ceiling at S. Eusebio—the Parnassus in the saloon of the Villa Albani, which far surpasses the preceding one—and, lastly, the Papyrus cabinet at the Vatican, painted by him, where the loveliness of the angels, the commanding air of the Moses and the St. Peter, the beauty of the colouring, as well as the relief and harmony of the whole, make this cabinet pass for one of the greatest ornaments of the Vatican Museum and of Rome itself. This same solicitude to make each succeeding effort superior to the preceding, we might also observe in his easel pictures, were they not so rare in Italy; for of these

he painted a good many for London and various other capitals of Europe. In Rome itself, the scene of his youthful studies, where he first established himself, whither he frequently returned, and where at length he ended his days, but few of his works are to be found: among them is the portrait of Clement XIII. and that of the Cardinal Carlo, his nephew, in the possession of the Prince Rezzonico; that of the Cardinal Zelada, the secretary of state, and a few other pieces in the hands of private gentlemen, especially of the Cav. Azara. Florence possesses some estimable pictures of his in the Pitti palace, and his own portrait in the cabinet of painters; besides the grand Descent from the Cross, executed in chiaroscuro for the Marquis Rinuccini, which he was prevented by his death from colouring; and a fine fresco painting of a Genius, in an apartment of the Senator Count Orlando Malevolti del Benino*.

* Pompeo Batoni, of Lucca, and Antonio Cavallucci da Sermoneta, may be considered as the two most distinguished artists among those here omitted.

Neapolitan School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

Dominici, and other Neapolitan biographers, affirm that Naples was not destitute of painters even during the dark ages. In proof of which they adduce various sacred pieces by anonymous artists, of a date considerably anterior to the year 1200; particularly a good many Madonnas in the old style, the objects of veneration in the churches where they are placed.

The first painter, after the revival of art, whose name is recorded, is Tommaso de' Stefani, who flourished in the time of Cimabue, and during the reign of Charles of Anjou. According to Vasari, this prince was, on his way through Florence, taken to Cimabue's studio, to see the picture which he had painted for the Rucellai chapel; containing a figure of the Virgin, the largest that had ever been executed till then. Dominici has not failed to turn this to the advantage of his countryman Tommaso. He observes that King Charles would have invited Cimabue to Naples, had he considered him an accomplished painter: Charles, however, did no such thing; but, on the contrary, employed Tommaso to decorate one or two churches that he had founded: consequently, the latter must have appeared to him superior to Cimabue. Every one must see that such reasoning as this cannot determine the relative merit of the two painters: this must be decided by their existing works; and judging from these, Marco da Siena, the father of the history of painting as regards the Neapolitan school, gave it as his opinion, that, in grandeur of style, Cimabue had the advantage. The Minutoli chapel, at the cathedral, mentioned by Boccaccio, was

by Tommaso embellished with various pieces on the subject of the Crucifixion.

About the year 1325, Giotto was invited to Naples by King Robert, for the purpose of painting the church of S. Chiara; as he accordingly did, executing various pieces from the Gospel history and the mysteries of the Apocalypse, from hints previously suggested to him by Dante, as the story went in Vasari's time. These pictures, in consequence of their rendering the church too dark, were whitewashed over about the commencement of the present (eighteenth) century: some of the best figures, however, were suffered to remain in their pristine state, as was also a figure of the Virgin, styled the Madonna della Grazia, which the piety of the distinguished nuns, to whom it belonged, preserved for the veneration of the faithful. Giotto had for his companion in his labours one Maestro Simone, who, in consequence of the esteem in which he was held by Giotto, acquired a high reputation at Naples. Dominici more especially commends a Descent from the Cross, painted on panel for the larger altar of the church della Incoronata; comparing it even to Giotto's performances. For the rest, he acknowledges that Simone never attained to equal merit in conception or invention, and never succeeded in imparting the same graceful air to his heads, or the same sweetness to his colouring.

He initiated in the art a son of his, called Francesco di Simone, of whom there is, in the church of S. Chiara, a chiaroscuro representing the Virgin, which has been much commended—a figure which was also spared during the whitewashing above recorded. Gennaro di Cola and Stefanone were also disciples of his; they resembled each other closely in style, and hence were colleagues in the execution of some large works. The former was, for the time in which he lived, a pains-taking and correct painter; one who was solicitous to overcome the difficulties of art, and promote its advancement; whence he sometimes betrays a degree of constraint: the latter displays

greater genius, and greater boldness of colouring; imparting to his figures a vivacity which might have raised him to eminence had he lived at a more auspicious period.

Till Zingaro introduced at Naples a style borrowed from various other schools, the art was but at a low ebb in that city and its dependencies. Of this Francesco's scholar, Colantonio del Fiore, who lived till the year 1444, affords sufficient proof; for Dominici, on mentioning certain pictures which pass for his, expresses a doubt whether they are not rather the work of Maestro Simone: which is a kind of tacit acknowledgment that, during the course of a century, the art had made but little progress. He had a scholar named Angiolo Franco, who imitated Giotto's manner better than any other of the Neapolitans; adding to it, however, a stronger chiaroscuro, which he derived from his master.

Antonio Solario, (originally a blacksmith,) commonly called Lo Zingaro, contributed more than the last-mentioned painter to the advancement of art. Solario's story has in it something of the romantic; for being enamoured of a daughter of Colantonio's, and being told by the latter that he would give him his daughter after the lapse of ten years, provided he became by that time a good painter, Solario exchanged the forge for the studio, and substituted the pencil for the file. From Naples he betook himself to Bologna, where he was for several years the scholar of Lippo Dalmasio, styled also, from the number of Madonnas he painted, and the grace with which he represented them, Lippo dalle Madonne. Quitting Bologna, he travelled through the greater part of Italy, for the purpose of familiarising himself with the style of other schools. In his heads he displayed great merit, insomuch that he extorted the admiration even of Marco da Siena, who used to say that "they looked as though they were alive." Considering, too, the time at which he lived, he also distinguished himself by his perspective, and the judicious composition of his pieces; which he contrived to diversify

with landscapes better than did others, as well as to embellish with dresses peculiar to the age and accurately imitated. In the drawing of his hands and feet he was less happy; and was sometimes guilty of extravagance of gesture and crudeness of colouring. Having returned to Naples, and given a specimen of his accomplishments, and being, as the story goes, recognised and admired by Colantonio, he became his son-in-law, nine years from the time of his having quitted that city; where, during the reign of Alphonso, he both cultivated the art himself, and gave lessons in it till 1455, about which period he died.

Meanwhile there started up at Naples a new school; which, from its most original and most celebrated prototype, was styled by the Cav. Massimo the school of Zingaro; and the pictures executed from Zingaro's time down to the days of Tesauro, or thereabouts, are at Naples usually denominated *Zingaresche*, just as those which were executed in imitation of Berrettini are every where denominated *Cortonesche**.

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* The most distinguished of the *Zingareschi* were Pietro and Polito del Donzello, and Silvestro Buoni; and the most eminent scholar of this latter was Bernardo Tesauro, who approached the modern manner more closely than any of his predecessors.

Neapolitan School.

EPOCH II.

AT NAPLES THE MODERN STYLE OWES ITS ORIGIN TO THE FOLLOWERS OF RAPHAEL AND MICHAEL ANGELO.

It has already been observed, that, after the commencement of the sixteenth century, the art of painting appeared to be every where matured, and every where began to put on a peculiar character which served to distinguish school from school. The Neapolitan has not been able to boast such marks of originality as certain others of the Italian schools; but it has afforded scope for the introduction of the best methods, according as youthful artists on quitting their native place happen to have carried thither the style of this or that particular master; and according as the Neapolitan sovereigns and nobles happen to have invited, or at least employed, the more distinguished foreign painters—a point in which, with the exception of Rome, Naples yields not perhaps to any city of Italy. This city, which is equally rich in palaces and churches, has always possessed a number of eminent artists worthy to undertake its decoration. Nor has it ever been deficient in men of genius; the nation being prolific of those who are capable of prosecuting any study with success; especially such as demand a warm imagination, and a sort of animating fire. Hence one who was at the same time distinguished for his attainments both in literature and the arts, declared, that no other part of Italy could boast so many who may be said to have been born painters; such is the fervour, the fertility of fancy, and the boldness visible in the greater part of their works. To this fervid temperament, also, may we refer that rapidity of execution on which both ancients and moderns

have lavished their encomiums, when it happens not to be divorced from other meritorious qualities. But for the most part it precludes accuracy of design; which accordingly must not be looked for in many of the artists of this school. Neither must we expect to find much predilection for the *beau ideal:* the greater part, as is usual with those who copy from nature, having borrowed the features of their countenances and the action of their figures from the populace; some with more, some with less carefulness of selection. With regard to colouring, this school has changed its maxims with change of times. In point of invention and composition, it may be reckoned among the most copious; but cannot be ranked among the most studied.

At Naples, the era of modern painting could not have commenced under more auspicious circumstances than those which fell to its lot. Pietro Perugino had painted an Assumption of the Virgin at the cathedral, which, as I am informed, is still in being. This work served to pave the way for the improved taste. Raphael and his school now coming into repute, Naples was the first among foreign cities to profit by the circumstance, owing to some of the disciples of that school; to whom were added, towards the middle of the century, some of the followers of Michael Angelo. Hence, down to about the year 1600, this school looked up to none except to those two consummate masters, and their imitators; save that some few also copied after Titian.

Andrea Sabbatini of Salerno, who became enamoured of Pietro's style from the moment he beheld that picture of his at the cathedral, set out, at the very first opportunity, for Perugia, with a view to attend his school. In consequence, however, of what fell from certain painters, whom he met with at some inn on the road, and who had seen the works executed by Raphael for Julius II., he changed his purpose; and, repairing to Rome, put himself under the care of that great master. With Raphael, however, he remained but a short time: the death of his father

compelling him, against his will, to return to Salerno in 1513: but he returned quite another man. It is said that he wrought in company with Raphael at the church della Pace and at the Vatican, and that he became a good copyist of his figures: certain it is that he emulated his style with success. Compared with his fellow-students, he does not soar so high as Giulio Romano; yet he surpasses Raphael del Colle and others of a similar stamp; displaying a skilfulness of design, a selection in his proportions and attitudes, together with a predilection for chiaroscuro, a tendency to prominence of muscle, a fulness of drapery, and a colouring which still retains its freshness after the lapse of so many years. He executed a good many works at Naples, as well as at his native place, at Gaeta, and throughout almost the whole of the kingdom, for the ornament of churches and private collections; where we meet with Madonnas of his of the highest beauty*.

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* Sabbatini's scholars were Cesare Turco, Francesco and Fabrizio Santafede, and Paolillo. In the year 1527, Polidoro da Caravaggio went to Naples, where he reared some scholars; among them, Gianbernardo Lama, Francesco Ruviale, and Marco Calabrese. Shortly after Polidoro, Gianfrancesco Penni (il Fattore) also visited Naples: his followers there were il Pistoia, Francesco Curia, and Ippolito Borghese. Perino del Vaga had also some scholars among the Neapolitan artists, as Gio. Corso, and Gianfilippo Criscuolo; from whose school proceeded Francesco Imparato, the father of Girolamo Imparato, also a distinguished artist. Vasari was invited to Naples in 1544, and Marco da Siena visited it about 1560, where he reared various pupils.

Neapolitan School.

EPOCH III.

CORENZIO, RIBERA, CARACCIOLO, TAKE THE LEAD AT NAPLES. STRANGERS WHO COMPETE WITH THEM.

After the middle of the sixteenth century, Tintoretto, of the Venetian school, began to be reckoned among the more distinguished painters; while toward the close of the same century Caravaggio, of the Roman, and the Caracci, of the Lombard school, also rose to the highest eminence. The three several styles of these masters soon spread over the rest of Italy, and in Naples became the predominant ones, being adopted there by three artists of considerable note, Corenzio, Ribera, and Caracciolo. These men, who came into notice in succession, afterwards formed a coalition for the exclusion of other painters and the mutual advancement of themselves. During the period that these three were in the greatest repute, Guido, Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Artemisia Gentileschi, spent some time at Naples, and both there and elsewhere contributed some pupils to the Neapolitan school. Thus the period that intervened between Corenzio and Giordano forms the brightest epoch of this school, if we regard only the number of distinguished artists and the many works of taste which it produced; but if we take into account the unworthy artifices and flagitious deeds to which it gave birth, it is the blackest era to be found not only in the Neapolitan school, but in the whole annals of art.

CORENZIO.

Bellisario Corenzio, a native of Greece, after having spent five years in the school of Tintoretto, settled in Naples about the year 1590. Nature had endowed him with a fertility of fancy and a rapidity of execution, that enabled him almost to equal his master in the prodigious number of his pictures even of the larger size. Four painters, even of the more diligent of the tribe, could hardly have executed so much as he contrived to get through alone. He is not, however, to be compared with Tintoretto, who, when he chose to repress his enthusiasm, is second to few in design; and displays an inventiveness, a movement, and a vivacity in his heads, which the Venetians themselves, with his works constantly before their eyes, have never been able to equal. Nevertheless, Corenzio successfully imitated him when he chose to take pains; as in the great picture painted for the refectory of the Benedictine Fathers, where he represented the Miraculous Feeding of the multitude by our Saviour—a work completed in forty days. But for the most part he adopted a manner conformable, in many respects, to the style of D'Arpino; in others, partaking of the Venetian school; not, however, without something of a character peculiar to himself, especially in his *glories*, which he encumbers with dark clouds, apparently surcharged with rain—a character which, in the judgment of the Cav. Massimo, shews him to have been "rather fertile in invention than studious of the beautiful." He painted but little in oils, though he displayed great merit in the strength and union of his colours. An inordinate thirst of gain led him to undertake large works in fresco; in which he had a ready knack at drawing advantage from expedients, being copious, varied, energetic, and happy in the general effect; nay, even studied and correct in the details, whenever the proximity of some formidable rival compelled him to be so. Such was the

case at the Certosa in the chapel of St. Januarius. There he taxed his powers to the utmost, being goaded on by the proximity of a work of Caracciolo's, who had embellished that place with an altar-piece, which remained there a long time, admired as one of his most beautiful performances, and which was subsequently removed into the monastery. In other churches may be seen sacred pieces painted by him on a small scale, on which Dominici bestows the highest encomiums.

RIBERA.

To what country Giuseppe Ribera really belonged has been matter of dispute. Palomino, following Sandrart and Orlandi, asserts that he was a native of Spain; in proof of which he adduces a picture of St. Matthew with the following inscription: —" Jusepe de Ribera Espanol de Ciutad de Xativa; reyno de Valencia, Accademico Romano anno 1630." The Neapolitans affirm that he was born in the neighbourhood of Lecce, but of a Spanish father; and that to recommend himself to the government, which was Spanish, he always boasted of this extraction, and invariably alluded to it in subscribing his name, whence he derived the appellation of Spagnoletto. The controversy has, however, of late years been decided; it having been proved by the evidence of an extract from the baptismal register kept at Sativa (now San Filippo) that he was born there. (See the *Antologia di Roma* of 1795.) We read that he even acquired the rudiments of the art in Spain from Francesco Ribalta of Valencia, supposed to have been a scholar of Annibal Caracci. But the history of the Neapolitan school, which, in its account of this artist, I now look upon as suspicious, affirms, on the contrary, that Ribera, while still a youth, or rather, while a mere boy, studied at Naples under Caravaggio, about the year 1606,

at the time that master, who had fled from Rome in consequence of a murder he had committed, betook himself thither, where he executed a number of works both for private individuals and for the different churches. But whatever may have been the source from which he derived instruction in his boyish years, it appears certain that Caravaggio was, even in early life, his chosen and favourite model. Subsequently, on seeing the works of Raphael and Annibal Caracci at Rome, and those of Coreggio at Modena and Parma, Ribera adopted, after their example, a gayer and more pleasing style, in which, however, he persevered only a short time, and with but little success; there being in Naples others who pursued the same path, and whom it was by no means easy to outstrip. He returned, therefore, to Caravaggio's manner, which, by its truth, force, and strong chiaroscuro, attracts the multitude more than a gayer style: in a short time he was made painter to the court; and in the sequel became the arbiter of its taste.

The studies he had gone through rendered him superior to Caravaggio in invention, selection, and design; in imitation of whom he executed at the Certosini that grand Descent from the Cross, which, in the opinion of Giordano, was of itself sufficient to form an excellent painter, and might compare with the brightest productions of art. The Martyrdom of St. Januarius in the royal chapel, and the St. Jerome at the church of the Trinità, possess greater beauty than most of his works, and may be said to be somewhat after the manner of Titian. St. Jerome, indeed, was his favourite subject. A great number either of full or half-length figures of this saint are to met with in different collections: in that of the Panfili palace at Rome we find about five, and all different. Nor are other pictures of his of a similar description rarely to be met with—anchorites, prophets, and apostles—in which he displays a prominence of bone and muscle, and a gravity of countenance, which he copied for the most part from nature. In the same taste are most of his pictures

from profane story, in which he delights to represent old men and philosophers; as, for instance, the Democritus and Heraclitus, in the possession of the Marquis Jerome Durazzo—figures very much in the style of Caravaggio. In choosing historical subjects for the exercise of his pencil, the most revolting were to him the most inviting—murders, executions, barbarous tortures. Of these, one of the most celebrated is the Ixion on the wheel, in the palace of Buon Ritiro at Madrid. Ribera's works are very numerous, more especially in Italy and Spain. On this head, however, we must not omit to warn the reader, that, of the many reputed *Spagnolettos* to be found in different collections, we may not merely suspect, but at once take for granted, that a great proportion are falsely attributed to him, and ought rather to be called the works of his scholars.

CARACCIOLO.

Giambatista Caracciolo, a follower, first of Francesco Imparato, and afterwards of Caravaggio, attained the age of manhood without having produced any work calculated to bring him into notice. Roused afterwards by the fame of Annibale, and the astonishment which a picture of his had excited in him, he repaired to Rome, where, by an unremitted study of the Farnese ceiling, which he copied exactly, he acquired a correct style of design, and became a successful follower of the Caracci. On his return to Naples he availed himself of these acquirements to establish his reputation, as well as to maintain it on certain occasions when he had to contend with others; as, for instance, in a Madonna at S. Anna de' Lombardi; in a S. Carlo at the church of S. Agnello; and in the Christ bearing his Cross at the hospital of Incurables—pictures, which connoisseurs have extolled as most happy imitations of Annibal Caracci's manner.

For the rest, we may recognise the school of Caravaggio in the strong lights and shades of most of his other works. He was an elaborate rather than a hasty painter. There exist, however, some works of his in so poor a style, that Dominici thinks he either purposely painted them so to spite those who would not pay him a high price, or else delivered them over to Mercurio d'Aversa, a pupil of his, and not one of the best.

The three painters whom I have here described in succession, were the three authors of the unceasing persecution, to which those foreign artists, who had either settled at Naples of their own accord, or been invited thither, were for several years exposed. Bellisario had managed to acquire a sovereign jurisdiction, or rather, a tyrannical sway, over the Neapolitan painters, partly by means of his reputation, partly by artifice, partly by violence. All the more lucrative orders he took care to reserve to himself, recommending for the execution of the rest one or other of the many artists dependent upon him, who were for the most part of an inferior stamp. The Cav. Massimo, Santafede, and other more distinguished artists, if they were not dependent upon him, at least avoided coming to an open rupture with him; dreading him as a man of a treacherous and vindictive temper, capable of committing the blackest crimes; one who, out of envy, had even administered poison to Luigi Roderigo, the most promising and the most amiable of his pupils.

To maintain his pre-eminence, it became necessary for Bellisario to exclude, not so much those foreigners who painted in oil, as those who painted in fresco. In the year 1609, Annibal Caracci repaired thither for the purpose of decorating the church of Spirito Santo and that of Gesù Nuovo, for which he finished a small picture as a sort of specimen of his style. The Greek and his adherents being called upon to give an opinion of this exquisite painting, unanimously pronounced it an insipid

performance, and declared that its author could have no genius for works on a large scale: hence, that inimitable artist returned to Rome during the hottest period of the year, where he shortly afterwards died. But the work in which foreigners met with the greatest opposition, was that of the royal chapel of St. Januarius, which, even while he was employed on painting the choir of the Certosa, a committee of management had resolved to entrust to D'Arpino. Bellisario, therefore, leaguing with Spagnoletto (a man, like himself, of a haughty and overbearing temper) and Caracciolo, both of whom aspired to the task, led D'Arpino so uneasy a life, that, before he had finished the choir on which he was engaged, he fled to Monte Casino, and from thence returned to Rome. The work was then given to Guido: no long time, however, had elapsed before two unknown individuals assaulted that artist's servant, and, as to himself, sent to him to say that he must either prepare for death, or quit Naples forthwith; as he accordingly did. Gessi, a scholar of Guido's, was not to be intimidated by this example; but having applied for and obtained the honourable employment, he repaired to Naples with two assistants, Gio. Batista Ruggieri and Lorenzo Menini. These artists were treacherously invited on board a galley under pretence of inspecting it, when, the vessel putting to sea on the instant, they were transported to some distant place, to the great grief of their master, who, notwithstanding the inquiries he caused to be made after them even at Rome, could hear no tidings of them all the while he remained at Naples.

In consequence of this event, Gessi himself having also quitted Naples, the committee, losing all hope of succeeding in their endeavours, were now beginning to yield to this cabal of monopolists; assigning the fresco-works to Corenzio and Caracciolo, and giving Spagnoletto good reason to expect that he should be employed on the altar-pieces; when, on a sudden, repenting of the determination they had come to, they caused all that had

been executed by the two fresco painters to be effaced, and committed the decoration of the chapel in all its parts to Domenichino. To the honour of those upright and liberal persons, be it observed, that they engaged to pay him one hundred ducats for every full-length figure, fifty for every half-length, and five-and-twenty for every head. They moreover took steps to ensure his quiet; prevailing upon the viceroy to threaten the cabal with his displeasure in case any molestation should be offered to him. But this was doing nothing. It was little that they attempted to make Domenichino pass for a cold and insipid painter, and to discredit him among those who see only with their ears—a numerous class in every place. They harassed him by calumnies, by anonymous letters, by defacing his paintings, by mixing ashes with the lime, in order to make the plaster crack and fall down; and, with a refinement in malice, got the viceroy to engage him to paint certain pictures for the court of Madrid. These pictures, while as yet little more than mere daubs, were abstracted from his studio and carried to court; where Spagnoletto ordered him to retouch them here and there, and, without giving him time to finish them, forwarded them to their destination. The overbearing conduct of his rival; the complaints of the committee, who always met with some fresh obstacle to the completion of the work; and the suspicion of some sinister design, at length determined Domenichino to set off secretly for Rome, in the hope that he might from thence order matters better. The reports of his flight being at length hushed up, and fresh measures taken for his safety, he returned and resumed his labours in the chapel, where he executed the paintings on the walls and drum of the cupola, and even made considerable progress in the altar-pieces.

Before he could finish his task, however, he was overtaken by death, hastened either by poison, or by the cruel vexations he had experienced both from his relatives and his rivals; the measure of which was filled up by the arrival of his old enemy

Lanfranco. The latter supplied the place of Zampieri in the works on the cupola of the chapel; Spagnoletto succeeded him in one of the oil paintings, and the Cav. Stanzioni in the other; while each of them, stimulated by the love of fame, if he did not surpass, at least rivalled Domenichino. Caracciolo was now no more. Bellisario, on account of his advanced age, took no part in the work: nor was it long, ere, having mounted a scaffolding for the purpose of retouching some of his frescos, he fell headlong from it and was killed. Nor did Spagnoletto experience a very enviable fate; for, becoming insupportable even to himself, and anxious to shun the public eye, on account of having had a daughter seduced, as well as through remorse at the unworthy persecutions which he had abetted, he embarked on board a vessel; nor, if we credit the Neapolitan accounts, is it known whither he fled, or to what end he came. Palomino makes him to have died at Naples itself in the year 1656, at the age of sixty-seven, but still does not state him to have escaped the afflictions above recorded. Thus did these three ambitious men, who either by violence or treachery had baffled the generosity and taste of so many noble patrons, and rendered so many eminent artists the sport of a mournful and eventful tragedy, in the last act of it reap but bitter fruits from all their unworthy machinations. And impartial posterity, which sees Domenichino preferred before them all, should draw from it this inference, that whoever founds his own reputation or his own fortune on the depression of another's merit, builds upon the sand*.

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* One of the most successful of the Neapolitan imitators of the Caracci was the Cav. Massimo Stanzioni.

IL CALABRESE.

GUERCINO himself was never at Naples; but the Cav. Mattia Preti, commonly called the Cav. Calabrese, allured by the novelty of his style, repaired to Cento, and put himself under his tuition. This we learn from Dominici, who had heard him say, that, as far as regarded actual instruction, his master was Guercino; but that, as far as regarded his own private studies, it might be said that every eminent artist was his master: and in fact he had visited many different countries; observing and studying the most celebrated works of every school both in and out of Italy. Hence it was with him in painting as it often is in point of conversation with those who have travelled much, who, start what subject you will, are usually found to throw some new light upon it: and accordingly, Preti often displays great variety and originality in the dresses, the ornaments, and the usages that he represents. He was twenty-six years of age before he attempted colouring, contenting himself till then with acquiring expertness in design. In this branch of art he possessed considerable merit; not so much, however, in the representation of delicate figures, as in those of a bolder and more robust character: though even in these he sometimes degenerates into heaviness. In like manner, his colouring is more remarkable for strength than for beauty; presenting us with a chiaroscuro that makes his figures start from the canvass with all the effect of relief, and a sort of general ashy tinge admirably suited to subjects of a tragical and melancholy cast. Aware that here lay his *forte*, he delighted to represent martyrdoms, murders, plagues, or the compunctious visitings of remorse: such were the subjects he most frequently handled.

He executed some large frescos at Modena, Naples, and Malta. In the church of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome, where, under the tribune of Domenichino, he painted three large histo-

rical pieces of the Titular Saint, he was less successful. The work suffers by comparison with Domenichino's; not to mention that the figures are disproportioned to the place, and sin on the side of heaviness. In Italy his oil paintings are almost innumerable; a circumstance to be attributed to his very long life, his great rapidity of execution, and the habit he was in of leaving some memento of himself wherever he went, now and then in the churches, but more commonly in private collections; and these are for the most part historical subjects, containing half-length figures after the manner of Guercino or Caravaggio. Not only Naples, but Rome and Florence also, abound with his pictures, and Bologna more perhaps than either of them. In the Marulli palace is his Belisarius in the character of a beggar; in that of the Ratti a Holy Penitent with a chain that forces him to assume a most uneasy posture; in one of the Malvezzi palaces a Sir Thomas More in prison; in that of the Ercolani a Pestilence; besides others, as well in these as in certain other collections of the nobility. One of the most studied of his altar-pieces is at the cathedral of Siena; it is a S. Bernardino in the act of preaching to, and converting, the people. At Naples he painted a great deal besides the ceiling of the Celestini church, though less than he himself and all other artists of correct taste could have wished; who, indeed, made common cause with him in resisting the innovations of Giordano. Giordano's star, however, still maintained the ascendant over that of every other artist; insomuch that, in spite of his faults, he triumphed over them all. Even Preti himself was constrained to quit the field, and end his days at Malta; where, out of regard to his great merit as a painter, he was made a commendatore of the Maltese Order*.

* Under this third epoch Lanzi notices Salvator Rosa, already mentioned under the Roman school, and Falcone, the latter of whom is scarcely less celebrated for battle-pieces than Borgognone himself.

Neapolitan School.

EPOCH IV.

GIORDANO, SOLIMENE, &c.

It was somewhat after the middle of the seventeenth century that Luca Giordano began to make a figure at Naples. This artist, though his style was not the best of the age in which he lived, yet surpassed all his contemporaries in good fortune—the consequence of a genius at once vast, bold, and creative, which Maratta regarded as altogether unique and unexampled. These splendid endowments began to develop themselves even in his childhood. His father Antonio placed him at first under the tuition of Ribera, then sent him to Rome to profit by the instructions of Cortona, and having afterwards familiarised him with all the best schools of Italy, brought him back again to Naples, enriched with designs, and his mind well stored with ideas. His father was but an indifferent painter, who, though he had nothing to depend upon at Rome but the exertions of his son, whose designs were even then in very great request, had no other precept to give him than that which necessity dictated; that is, to use despatch *(di far presto)*. A certain writer records the following unexampled circumstance:—that Luca, when about to take refreshment, was not used to desist from his work, but that opening his mouth just as a young blackbird or a young sparrow would have done, his father filled it with food, ringing all the while the *Luca fa presto* in his ears. Accordingly, *Luca fa presto* was the nick-name by which he went among his fellow-students at Rome; and such too is the name not unfrequently given to him in the history of art. By constantly inculcating this principle, Antonio accustomed his son to a most

portentous celerity of execution; whence he has been sometimes called the *Fulmine della pittura.* True indeed it is, that this amazing rapidity of execution was not owing so much to dexterity of hand, as to quickness of conception, as Solimene often used to observe—a faculty that enabled him to grasp the whole subject at once, and made it quite unnecessary for him to stop during the progress of his work to look for expedients; exempting him from the doubts, and hesitation, and corrections, incident to other artists. He was also called the Proteus of painting, from the extraordinary talent he possessed of counterfeiting the works of others; the effect, even this, of a retentive memory, which nothing that he had once seen ever escaped. Of this imitative faculty we have still many proofs in pictures painted by him in the style of Albert Durer, Bassan, Titian, and Rubens, which he used to pass off for originals, not only with connoisseurs, but even with his rivals, who had more need than any body else to be on their guard against him. Pictures of this kind have since fetched more than double or triple the price of one in Giordano's usual style. Of these there are specimens even in the churches of Naples; as, for instance, the two pictures in the style of Guido, at S. Teresa, more especially that of the Nativity of Christ.

None of these styles, however, did he adopt as his own. At first he betrayed marks of affecting Spagnoletto's manner; subsequently, as in a picture of the Passion at the above-mentioned S. Teresa, he followed pretty closely that of Paul Veronese: indeed, he ever retained that master's maxim of exciting admiration and attracting the eye by a studied introduction of ornament. From Cortona he seems to have adopted the love of contrast and the broad masses of light that characterize his compositions, as well as the frequent repetition of the same features, which in his female figures he often copied from those of his wife. For the rest, he sought to distinguish himself from

every other master by a novel method of colouring. In this he was not very solicitous to conform to the more received principles of art: his colouring is in general too little in accordance with truth and reality, but more especially in his chiaroscuro, where he pursued a system much too arbitrary and ideal. It delights us nevertheless by a certain gracefulness and illusiveness of character, which few attend to and none find it easy to imitate. Nor did he in this respect hold himself up as a model to his scholars: on the contrary, he reproved them whenever they attempted to imitate him; telling them that it was not the part of tyros to penetrate into views of that sort. He was well enough acquainted with the laws of design, but too careless in his observance of them; and it is Dominici's opinion, that if he had observed them rigidly, that fire, which now constitutes his chief merit, would have cooled—an excuse which will hardly appear satisfactory to every reader. The following, perhaps, will be considered as the truer reason—that, being greedy of gain, and therefore ready to undertake works even for the lower orders, he was led to abuse his facility of execution even to the prejudice of his reputation. Hence, also, he is charged with having often painted in a superficial manner; laying on his colours too lightly, and diluting them also much with oil; a circumstance which has caused his pictures prematurely to exhibit symptoms of decay.

Giordano's works abound in Naples, both in public and private: there is scarcely a church in that great city which cannot boast of possessing a specimen of his works. The Driving out from the Temple those who bought and sold therein, in the possession of the Padri Girolamini—a piece, the architectural ornaments of which are said to be the work of Moscatiello, a celebrated perspective painter—is much admired. Of all his fresco paintings, those in the treasury of the Certosa are the most esteemed. These were executed by him at a rather advanced

age, and seem to combine all the best properties of his style. The lifting up of the Serpent in the Wilderness, and the crowds of Israelites who turn to it as the appointed means of escape from the pangs inflicted by the Serpents' bite, is an astonishing work; as are also the other stories on the walls and on the ceiling, all of which are taken from Scripture. The cupola of S. Brigida is also much extolled: it was executed, in competition with Francesco di Maria, with such rapidity and in such fascinating colours, that with the many it caused him to be preferred before that erudite master, and thus paved the way for a less correct taste among the rising generation. The picture of S. Saverio, too, painted for the church of that name in the short space of a day and a half—a picture abounding in figures, and in point of colouring equal to any thing he ever produced—is also looked upon as a miracle of art. Giordano visited Florence for the purpose of painting the Corsini chapel and the Riccardi gallery; to say nothing of the works he executed for various churches as well as for private individuals, more especially for the noble family of Rosso, where were those Bacchanals of his which were afterwards transferred to the Capponi palace. He also wrought for the Grand Duke; and Cosmo III., in whose presence he both designed and coloured a large picture almost in less time than another would have taken to talk about it, complimented him as the very painter for a sovereign prince. The same compliment was paid him by Charles II. of Spain, at whose court he was employed for thirteen years; though, to judge from the number of pictures he left behind him, one would say that he had there spent a long life. At length, when he had now attained a good old age, he returned to his native country, and died there shortly afterwards, lamented as the greatest painter of his time.

His school produced but few that were eminent in design; the greater part of his scholars abusing their master's maxim:—that he is a good painter who contrives to please the public,

and that the public is more taken with colouring than with design*.

SOLIMENE.

Francesco Solimene, surnamed L'Abate Ciccio, born at Nocera de' Pagani, was the son of Angelo, a scholar of the Cav. Massimo. Feeling a strong propensity for painting, he soon quitted his other studies, received the rudiments of the art from his father, and repaired to Naples. There he placed himself under the tuition of Francesco di Maria, who, according to him, devoted himself too exclusively to design: quitting him, therefore, he took to frequenting the academy of Po; where, with all the ardour of youth, he applied himself at once to design the naked figure and to colour it. Thus he may rather be called the scholar of all the eminent artists whose works he copied and studied continually, than of any one in particular. At first he closely imitated Cortona: and even after he had adopted a manner of his own, he still looked up to that master as a model; so much so, indeed, as to borrow whole figures from his works; taking care, however, to accommodate them to his own style. This new and characteristic style of Solimene's approaches nearer to Preti's than to that of any one else: the design, indeed, is not so correct, nor is the colouring so true, but the heads

* The most distinguished of Giordano's scholars was Paolo de' Mateis. It was his unexampled boast that he had completed the painting of a large cupola, like that of the Gesù Nuovo, in sixty-six days; which cupola was, a few years since, taken down, for fear of its falling. This boast being reported to Solimene, he coldly replied, that there was no need for any one to tell him so, inasmuch as the work itself told it plain enough. And yet this cupola contained some pieces so beautiful, and so well imitated from Lanfranco, that the rapidity with which it was executed could not fail to excite astonishment.

possess greater beauty: in these he sometimes imitates Guido, sometimes Maratta, and not unfrequently copies them from nature. Hence, by some he has been called the Cav. Calabrese "humanized" *(ringentilito)*. To Preti he added another model, Lanfranco, whom he used to call his master, and from whom he derived that intricacy *(serpeggiamento)* of composition which he may perhaps be said to have carried to excess. From these two also he derived that strong chiaroscuro perceptible in the works which he executed in the prime of life; for as he advanced in years he neglected it, and adopted an easier and sweeter style. In each of his works he finished the whole of the design, and carefully compared it with nature before he began to colour it: so that, as far as regards the preparatory steps, he may be reckoned among the most accurate painters, in his better days at least; for he was afterwards too studious of facility, and opened the way to mannerism. In invention he displayed the same facility and elegance, that procured him a distinguished place among the poets of his day. To his praise also it may be said, that he aimed at universality in the art, employing his pencil in every branch comprised within the whole compass of painting—portraits, historical pieces, landscapes, animals, fruits, together with the ornaments of architecture and manufactures. To whatever department he applied himself, he seemed to have been purposely formed for it. As he lived to the age of ninety, and was endowed with great rapidity of execution, his works have been scattered over all Europe, almost in as great abundance as those of Giordano. Of that artist he was at once the competitor and the friend; inferior to him in genius, but chaster in style. When Giordano was no more, Solimene, who (notwithstanding all that his rivals might please to say as to the want of truth in his colouring) well knew that there was now no longer any one to dispute the palm with him in Italy, began to set an extravagant price upon his pictures, and nevertheless was kept in constant employment.

Among the works that do him most credit is that in the sacristy of the Padri Teatini of San Paolo Maggiore; a work consisting of various historical pieces. His pictures on the arches of the different chapels at the church of the Holy Apostles are also worthy of being recorded. Of his exquisite finishing we may take as an example the chapel of St. Philip at the church dell' Oratorio, where every figure looks as if it had been the work of a miniature painter. Except in the Neapolitan State, his works are not often to be met with in private collections. The Albani and Colonna galleries at Rome contain a few historical pieces of his; that of the Bonaccorsi family at Macerata, a somewhat greater number from profane story; and among them the Death of Dido, a picture on a large scale and of admirable effect. The largest work of his that I have met with in the Ecclesiastical State, is a Last Supper in the refectory of the Conventuals of Assisi; an elegant and exquisitely finished piece, where, among the attendants, the artist has given us a portrait of himself.

Venetian School.

EPOCH I.

It is only subsequent to the year 1300 that we find the names and the works of Venetian painters to have both of them survived*; about which time, partly owing to the example of Giotto, partly owing to their own industry and talents, these painters, both in Venice itself and its dependencies, adopted a better and more graceful style. The merits of the Venetian painters, however, become more strikingly manifest during the fifteenth century†; that period which gradually paved the way for the noble style of Giorgione and Titian. After the middle of that century, the generality of painters evinced here a taste not unlike what I have already described as existing in other countries—divested rather of the rudeness which characterizes the old masters, than embellished by the elegance of the moderns. Although, even at that early period, canvass was in as general use at Venice as panel was elsewhere, still, painting in water-colours was the only method yet known—an admirable method as regards the durability of the tints, (insomuch that some specimens have come down to our days unimpaired,) but incompatible with a

* Of the painters who lived previous to the above-mentioned period, Lanzi observes, that, in some instances, the name is all that is left, while, in others, the name is lost, but the work still exists.

† The more eminent of the painters who flourished about the middle of the XVth century, whom our limits will not allow us to notice more particularly, are—the three Vivarini—Jacopo Bellini—Jacobello and Francesco del Fiore—and Francesco Squarcione. The latter, says Lanzi, "is, as it were, the trunk from which there branched off, by means of Mantegna, the greatest of the Lombard schools; and, by means of Marco Zoppo, that of Bologna."

perfect blending and softness of colouring. At length the secret of painting in oil was brought to us from Flanders, by Antonello of Messina; an event which led to a happier era among the schools of Italy, especially that of Venice, which profited by it more, and, in all probability, earlier than any of the rest.

In the Venetian, as in every other school, the artists who flourished during this period retain some vestiges of the hard dry manner of the old masters; frequently copying nature with all her imperfections; as, for instance, in figures of an excessively tall and slender make. For the rest, where their proportions are truer, they rivet the attention by that correctness, simplicity, and carefulness of design, which seems, as it were, to evince a dread of exaggeration. One might almost fancy them to have been educated in the school of those more ancient Greek sculptors, whose works delight us as much by their truth, as do those of others by their sublimity. This air of truth and reality more especially distinguishes their heads, which, for the most part, are portraits copied from the life, taken either from among the populace, or from among men eminent for birth, or learning, or military exploits; and to this practice, which was familiar even to the artists of the thirteenth century, we owe not a few of those heads which Giovio caused to be copied for his museum, and which have since found their way into almost every country either in pictures or prints. Frequently, too, at that early period, the painter introduced his own portrait into the picture; a species of ostentation which went into disuse as cultivation advanced in Italy.

Their very colours are remarkable for truth and simplicity; though not always properly blended, particularly with the grounds, nor sufficiently broken into light and shade; and yet more remarkable for simplicity is the composition of their altar-pieces. In these they rarely introduced historical subjects, contenting themselves at that early period with representing the

Virgin on a throne, surrounded by such a retinue of Saints as the devotion of the times deemed indispensable. Nor did they represent these, as heretofore, stiff and erect, equidistant from each other, and in unmeaning attitudes: they made some attempt at contrast; for while one was looking toward the Virgin, another would be seen reading a book; or if the former happened to be on his knees, the latter would be seen standing upright. The national temper, always sprightly and jocund, developed itself even then in a brilliancy of colouring, surpassing that of every other school; while, perhaps, for the very purpose of giving greater relief to these brilliantly-coloured figures, they painted their skies of a pale, languid hue. They did their utmost, too, to enliven their compositions with pleasing figures, seizing every opportunity to introduce sportive cherubs into their sacred pieces, and vying with each other in the life and movement with which they invested them; some of them in the act of singing, others playing upon different instruments; and not unfrequently placing in their hands well-woven baskets containing fruits and flowers, moistened, one would almost think, with recent dew. In the dresses of their figures they adhered to nature; avoiding that trite and closely-folded drapery, and that bandaging of the body, which characterizes Mantegna's works, and found its way into other schools.

Nor did they lay small stress upon certain accessories of art; such as their thrones, which they formed in the richest and most splendid style; their landscapes, which they drew with an astonishing degree of truth; and their architectural ornaments, which they frequently introduced after the fashion of a portico or a tribune. Sometimes, too, we find that, accommodating themselves to the stone-work and structure of the altar, they gave a fictitious continuation of it within the picture; and with so close a resemblance of colour and style did they do it, as to deceive the eye, and make us doubt where the external ornament ends and where the picture begins.

GIAN BELLINI.

This improvement of style was the work of Gian Bellini more than of any other master. In the vast number of works which he produced, reckoning from before the year 1464 down to the year 1516, he presents us with a sort of graduated scale of his own progress, which was in fact the progress of his school. His very first pictures, which are in water colours, evince his ambition to introduce into his country an improved and more elevated style. The larger palace of the Cornero family, where his pencil was frequently employed, contains various pictures in his first manner, as well as others of a later date, the latest being always the most beautiful: among them is a St. Francis, in the midst of a dense thicket; a piece that might excite the envy of the most accomplished landscape painter. In the year 1488, the year in which he painted the altar-piece that is still preserved in the sacristy of the Conventuali, we find him extorting the commendation even of Vasari both for tastefulness of manner and correctness of design. In a still happier manner did he execute some other works, after he had witnessed certain specimens of Giorgione's. From that period he displayed greater novelty of invention, imparted greater roundness to his figures, and greater warmth to his colouring; his transition too, from one colour to another, became more natural and easy, his representation of those parts of the figure exposed to view more correct, his drapery more majestic: had he acquired a perfect softness and delicacy of contour, (which, however, he never attained to,) he might have been proposed as an accomplished model of the modern style. Certainly, neither Pietro Perugino, Ghirlandaio, nor Mantegna, approached so near to it. The amateur may meet with many specimens of his works both at Venice and elsewhere. He should not neglect to observe the altar-piece at St. Zacharias of the date of 1505, and that at S.

Giobbe of 1510; nor should he neglect to see the Bacchanal of the Villa Aldobrandini at Rome, painted in 1514, which, in consequence of his advanced age, he left in an unfinished state. Other pictures of his have I met with of great merit, though without date;—a picture of the Virgin at the cathedral of Bergamo, a Baptism of our Saviour at S. Corona of Vicenza, an Infant Jesus asleep on the Virgin's knees between two Angels —the latter a most bewitching picture preserved in a cabinet at the Capuchins of Venice. It exhibits a rare union of beauty, grace, and expression: qualities of which, as regards this school, he may be called the father. He seems to have continued his labours even to his latest years; there being in the choice collection of S. Justina, at Padua, a Madonna of the date of 1516. Figures of the Virgin and of the Dead Christ are the pictures of his that we most frequently meet with.

GENTILE BELLINI.

The name of Giovanni must not be disunited from that of his brother Gentile, who preceded him alike in the period of his birth and of his death. These two Bellini lived apart, but always on the most brotherly terms; treating one another as friends, mutually commending each other, and each esteeming the other as superior to himself—a circumstance which proves Giovanni's modesty, while it displays Gentile's justice. To the latter, nature had been less prodigal of her gifts; but diligence, which sometimes supplies the place of genius, procured him an honourable station among his contemporaries. Though very inferior to his brother, and in many of his works betraying vestiges of the hard dry manner of the old masters, yet he has produced some that are very beautiful;—as the histories of the Holy Cross, at S. Giovanni, and the Preaching of St. Mark at the

school of that name; a piece which, though placed near a work of Paris Bordone's, scarcely suffers by comparison. In Gentile we recognise a faithful copyist, capable of transferring to his canvass whatever attracted his attention in a crowded assembly. The features of the audience, as well as the make of their bodies, display all the variety that we meet with in nature, without even excepting those instances of deformity, into which, from the generality of her laws, nature must sometimes fall; such as the bald head, the big belly, and other imperfections; and what is yet more worthy of observation, St. Mark's hearers are, without any regard to the manifest anachronism, clothed in the garb of Venetians or Turks. Still, however, as all is correctly drawn from nature, judiciously arranged, and invested with much spirit and animation, this work is not without considerable attractions. I may even go further, and affirm, that some pictures of this artist, on a small scale, which he seems to have executed *con amore*, would do no discredit even to his brother. Such is the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple, in the Barbarigo palace at S. Polo—a picture consisting of half-length figures, repeated with still greater care and delicacy in the Grimani palace. Here Gentile's picture has a beautiful work of Gian Bellini's opposite to it; and though the former is confessedly inferior to the latter in softness and mellowness of colouring, yet in beauty and the other graces of art it is preferred before it*.

* The other more distinguished artists of this epoch omitted in this abridgment are,—Vittore Carpaccio—Pellegrino di S. Daniello—Jacopo Montagnana—Francesco da Ponte, the father of Bassano—the two Montagna—Giovanni Bonconsigli, styled Il Marescalco—and Andrea Previtali.

Venetian School.

EPOCH II.

GIORGIONE, TITIAN, TINTORETTO, BASSANO, PAUL VERONESE, &c.

WE are now arrived at the brightest era of the Venetian school, in which, as in every other, the best artists flourished about the beginning of the sixteenth century; men, who not only eclipsed the fame of their predecessors, but even deprived their successors of all chance of equalling them. To attain to this unrivalled eminence, they pursued, as we shall see in the sequel, different paths; all of them, however, conspiring in their efforts to surpass every other school in truth and brilliance of colouring—an attribute which they bequeathed to their followers, and one which forms the distinguishing characteristic of the Venetian painters. In the art of colouring, the more celebrated Venetians conformed in some degree to the system pursued by the other great Italian painters, while in some degree they departed from it. It was at that time a common practice to give the panel or canvass proposed to be painted a covering consisting of a preparation of chalk; and this white ground, which was favourable to every colour the painter could lay on, contributed to invest them with that lucid richness, that bloom, and astonishing transparency, for which they are so remarkable. The above custom, which, owing to avarice and sloth, had gone into disuse, is now fortunately coming into vogue once more. But besides this, the Venetians had a method which may be called peculiarly their own. For, during these three centuries, that which has principally served to distinguish the greater part of the Venetian painters is, not that they laid on their colours thicker than others,

but that they laid them on by separate strokes of the pencil, *(hanno lavorato non tanto d'impasto, quanto colpeggiando o di tocco,)* and that each colour being thus placed in its proper situation, without doing it violence or taking much pains to rub it in, they went on continually heightening its effect, in order that each tint might remain pure and unmixed—a work which requires not only quickness of hand and head, but early initiation and constant practice. Hence Vecchia was wont to say, that any pains-taking painter might contrive to copy the best finished pictures of others; but that to copy the works of Titian and Paul Veronese, and imitate their pencilling, was a task in which none could succeed except such as were Venetians either by birth or at least by education—(Boschini, p. 274). Should it be asked, what are the advantages of this method, I answer, that Boschini points out two important ones. The first is, that, by this mode of colouring, harshness of style is more easily avoided; the second, that this method more than any other tends to make the picture distinct at a distance; and as pictures are not designed to be placed close to the eye, but to be viewed at some distance, the object is thus more easily attained. Nor were any artists better acquainted with the affinity between different colours; insomuch that their very method of placing them in juxta-position and contrasting them, may be considered as another source of the charming and brilliant effect produced by their works, more especially those of Titian and his contemporaries.

This skilfulness of representation was not confined merely to their fleshes, in the colour of which the followers of Titian have more particularly surpassed every other school. It extended also to the drapery; there being no variety of velvet, stuff, or crape, which they have not imitated to admiration, especially in their highly-decorated portraits, which were then all the rage among the Venetians. Indeed, to this sort of exercise, which compels the artist to be both faithful to nature and studious of effect, we may in some measure attribute the remarkable truth

and force to which these consummate colourists attained. They were, moreover, eminently successful in imitating all sorts of work in gold, silver, or other metals; insomuch that in no poet do we read of such splendid palaces or such costly banquets as we meet with in the pictures of the Venetian school. They distinguished themselves, too, in landscapes, in which they have sometimes surpassed the Flemish painters; and not less in their architectural ornaments, which they introduced into their compositions with a prodigality unknown elsewhere—a practice admirably adapted to facilitate the disposition of the groups of their figures, as well as to give them variety and effect.

These and other qualities of the like kind which enchant the eye, and equally delight the learned and the unlearned, and which by their novelty and fidelity of representation transport us in idea to the scene before us, constitute a style to which Reynolds has given the name of *Ornamental*. That English critic assigns it the next place after the sublime style, and remarks that those who cultivated the latter seem to have shunned all showy and ambitious ornament, both because it diverts the painter's attention from design and expression, and because even in the spectator it produces but a transient pleasure which seldom reaches the heart. The sublime of Michael Angelo and Raphael, without courting the attention by studied decoration, goes at once to the heart; fills you with terror, or inspires you with courage; awakens in you emotions of piety, of veneration, and a love of right; exalts you in some measure above yourself, and even against your will excites in you the most delightful of all feelings—that of wonder.

Let it not, however, be imagined, that the sole merit of the Venetians consists in the exquisite beauty of their colouring and decoration; or that the more usual style and true method of painting was unknown in these parts. Indeed, this school has been most prolific not only of painters, but of admirable speci-

mens in every department of the art; but neither are those painters nor those specimens so well known as they deserve to be.

GIORGIONE.

THE golden age of Venetian painting commences with Giorgione and Titian. Between these two, who were both companions and rivals, the greater number of artists, both in the capital and its dependent territory, were in some sort divided; one city taking one for its model, another the other. Giorgio Barbarelli di Castelfranco was more commonly called Giorgione, from a certain elevation of mind and largeness of stature with which nature had endowed him; a character also which he stamped upon his works, as sometimes happens in the case of authors, whose writings furnish us with an image of themselves. Even while he was yet a pupil of Bellini's, impressed with a consciousness of his own powers, he scorned that littleness of manner which was not yet wholly abandoned; substituting in its stead a freedom and a sort of licence, which constitutes the perfection of art. In this respect he has the merit of originality: till his time no one had attained that masterly boldness and strength of pencilling, so well calculated to strike the spectator at a distance. He afterwards went on continually improving in elevation of style, displaying greater fulness of contour, greater novelty of foreshortening, greater vivacity both of countenance and attitude, greater choice of drapery as well as of other accessories, greater truth and delicacy of transition from one colour to another; and lastly, far greater force and effect in his chiaroscuro. In this latter quality it was that Venetian painting was then most deficient;—for, before the beginning of the sixteenth century, it had been introduced into other schools by Da Vinci. And accord-

ingly, from this same Da Vinci, or, to speak more correctly, from certain designs and works of his, Vasari will have it that Giorgione derived it; a fact which Boschini will by no means admit, contending that on this point also Giorgione was in the strictest sense original. And, to say the truth, the style of Leonardo and of the Milanese artists, his scholars, not only differs from that of Giorgione in design, affecting the slender and the graceful, while the latter delights in the full and the rotund; but differs from it also in chiaroscuro. Leonardo evinces a greater predilection for shadow, which he goes on gradually diminishing with great care: while, with regard to his light, he diffuses it more sparingly, seeking to make it fall on a confined space with a brightness calculated to produce a powerful effect. Giorgione's manner is more open and less overcharged with shadow, nor do his demi-tints ever betray any thing of a greyish or iron tinge, being remarkable for truth and beauty: in short, if Mengs is correct in his opinion, his style bears a stronger resemblance to Coreggio's than to that of any other master. Still I cannot admit that Da Vinci did not in any degree contribute to Giorgione's new style. Every improvement in painting has originated with some one individual, who, attracting admiration by novelty of manner, has, by his example, taught such as were within his own sphere, and, by his reputation, such as were more distant, what it was that was still wanting to art; and hence have certain geniuses here and there started up calculated to improve it still further in this respect. Thus, if I mistake not, it happened in the case of perspective, after the time of Pier della Francesca; in that of foreshortening, after Melozzo; and in like manner, in that of chiaroscuro, after Leonardo.

Giorgione's works consisted in great measure of frescos painted on the façades of houses, especially at Venice, of which there now exist only some few relics, as if to make us regret the loss of the rest. On the contrary, both there and elsewhere we meet with many oil paintings of his in private hands in the very high-

est preservation; a circumstance to be attributed to his laying on the colours with a full, well-fed pencil. His portraits are more especially admirable for the mind he has contrived to throw into them, for the style of the heads, the smartness of the dresses, the arrangement of the hair, the plumes, the armour, and the exquisite imitation of the flesh itself; to which, though he usually employed colours of a glowing and highly sanguine hue, he imparted such a degree of grace, that after a thousand imitators he still stands alone. On analyzing these colours, Ridolfi found that, after the manner of the ancient Greeks, they were few in number, and unalloyed by those orange, grey, and azure tints, which were afterwards introduced to the prejudice of natural effect. Historical pieces by him are very rare; as the Dead Christ in the Monte di Pietà at Trevigi; the S. Omobono in the Scuola de' Sarti at Venice; or the Calming of the Tempest by the same Saint in that of St. Mark, where, amongst other things, are three naked gondoliers, highly esteemed both for design and attitude. Milan possesses two of an oblong shape, containing several figures on a scale somewhat larger than Poussin's, which may be said to have more of fulness than beauty. The first is at the Ambrosian library, the second at the archbishop's palace, and, with some, this latter passes for the finest *Giorgione* in the world. It represents the Taking of the Infant Moses out of the Nile, and his Presentation to the daughter of Pharaoh. The colours are few in number, but being well distributed, well blended, and well broken into light and shade, they present the eye with a severe kind of harmony, resembling, if I may so say, that arising from a simple but well-set air, which often affords us greater pleasure than pieces of a more noisy and complicated kind.

Giorgione died in the year 1511, at the age of thirty-four. Thus the Venetians were obliged to seek instruction rather from his works than from any scholars he could have formed.

FRA SEBASTIANO.

THE most celebrated of Giorgione's scholars is Sebastiano, a Venetian, who, from the habit he assumed, and the office to which he was afterwards appointed at Rome, was called Fra Sebastiano del Piombo. Leaving Gian Bellini, he became a disciple of Giorgione's, and succeeded better than any other artist in imitating the tone and lucid richness of his colouring. An altar-piece of his at S. Gio. Grisostomo passed with some for a work of his master's, so closely does it resemble his style. It may, perhaps, fairly be presumed that he was assisted in the composition of it; for it is notorious that Sebastiano was not blessed with much fertility of invention; and that in pieces comprising many figures, he was slow and irresolute; prodigal of promises, but loath to begin, and still more loath to finish his pictures. Hence historical subjects or altar-pieces of his are rarely to be met with; such as the Nativity of the Virgin at S. Agostino of Perugia, or the Flagellation at the Osservanti of Viterbo, deemed the best picture in that city. Cabinet pictures, and more especially portraits, he executed in considerable number and without much difficulty; nor is it easy to meet with hands more beautifully executed, fleshes of a more rosy hue, or other accessories of a more attractive nature. Thus, in his portrait of Pietro Aretino, we may distinguish in the dress no less than five different shades of black—accurate imitations of velvet, satin, and other materials. Being invited to Rome by Agostino Chigi, and looked up to as one of the first colourists of his day, he was employed to paint in competition with Peruzzi and Raphael himself; and in one of the saloons of the Farnesina, then called the Chigi palace, we may still see the rival works of these three masters.

Sebastiano soon perceived that, with such men for his compe-

titors, his own style of design could not appear to much advantage, and therefore set about improving it; but he sometimes fell into harshness, owing to the restraint it imposed upon him. In this respect he was in some of his works assisted by Michael Angelo, after whose design he painted the Pietà at the Conventuali of Viterbo, and the Transfiguration and the other pictures at S. Pietro in Montorio, which cost him the labour of six years. Vasari tells us, that Michael Angelo united with him for the purpose of counteracting the partiality evinced at Rome for Raphael. He adds that, when the latter was no more, the palm was, owing to Michael Angelo's influence, universally awarded to Sebastiano; and that Giulio Romano, and the rest of the rival school, were all kept in the back ground. I know not that I am called upon to give an opinion on an assertion, which, if we disbelieve it, casts an imputation on the historian, and which, if we admit it, does no great credit to Bonarruoti. I leave it, therefore, to the reader to draw his own conclusions. Sebastiano was the inventor of a new method of painting in oils on stone, and in this manner painted the Flagellation at St. Peter's in Montorio—a work as much blackened by time, as the frescos which he executed in the same church are well preserved. He also coloured cabinet pictures on stone, a practice highly esteemed at that early period, but soon abandoned in consequence of the difficulty of removing them. In this, or some such manner, were executed a few pictures of the sixteenth century, which in certain museums now-a-days pass for genuine antiques.

Those who follow are referred by history to the school of Giorgione, not as pupils, but as imitators. They all retain something of Bellini's style; for, till the time of Tintoretto, the Venetians did not so much aim at making new discoveries, as at perfecting what had already been made; and were less desirous of forgetting the method of the two Bellini, than of modernizing it after the example of Giorgione and Titian. Among the best

imitators of Giorgione, we may reckon three artists who were born either at Bergamo or in its vicinity—Lotto, (for he is most commonly held to be a Bergamasque*), Palma, and Cariani.

LOTTO.

Vasari and others, who mention Lorenzo Lotto, refer him to the Venetian territory generally, without particularizing the place of his birth; and he himself subscribed his S. Cristoforo at Loreto with the words—*Laurentius Lottus pictor Venetus.* A late annotator on Vasari, observing upon the gracefulness of the countenances and the turn of the eyes in his figures, was inclined to believe him a pupil of Da Vinci's; in corroboration of which opinion we may bring forward the authority of Lomazzo, who mentions Cesare da Sesto and Lorenzo Lotto as imitators of Da Vinci in the judicious distribution of light. I cannot, indeed, but think that Lotto would take advantage of his proximity to Milan to become acquainted with, and to imitate, Da Vinci, in certain points; but I do not therefore withhold my assent from history, when it represents him as the scholar of Bellini and the rival of Giorgione. In Lotto's works we discover few, if any, vestiges of that remarkable uniformity of style perceptible in those of Luini and others of Leonardo's Milanese pupils. His style is, on the whole, strictly Venetian; displaying its strength of colouring, its parade of dress, and, in his fleshes, the warmth of Giorgione's manner. His pencilling, however, has less of freedom than Giorgione's, whose loftiness of style he is fond of attempering by the play of the middle tints; selecting, at the same time, figures of a lighter make, and imparting to

* Beltramelli, in a work published in 1806, shews that Lotto, though usually held to be a Bergamasque, was in reality a Venetian.

his heads a character of a more placid, and a beauty of a more ideal cast. In the grounds of his pictures he frequently introduces a sort of bright or azure colour, which, if it does not readily blend with the figures, serves at least to give them relief, and to bring them nearer to the eye. He was among the foremost and the most ingenious in inventing new designs for altar-pieces. The St. Anthony, in the possession of the Dominicans at Venice, and the St. Nicholas at the Carmine—an idea which he repeated in the St. Vincent, in the hands of the Dominicans at Recanati—are very novel and original compositions. In his others he does not deviate much from the more usual style of a Madonna seated on a throne and surrounded by Saints, with little Angels poised in the air or placed upon the steps; yet even in these he introduces some degree of novelty, either in point of perspective, attitude, or contrast. Thus, in that at S. Bartolommeo of Bergamo, which Ridolfi eulogizes as a most wonderful performance, he represents the Virgin and the Infant Jesus in different postures and on opposite sides of the picture, as though they were addressing the attendant Saints—the former, those on the right hand, the latter, those on the left. So, also, in that other charming performance at S. Spirito, he introduced an infantine St. John the Baptist, standing at the foot of the throne and holding a lamb in his embrace; in the midst of his caresses evincing a joy so lively, natural, and innocent, with so fascinating a smile playing upon his features, that Raphael or Coreggio could perhaps hardly have produced any thing more beautiful.

These master-pieces of his, and others to be met with in the different churches and collections of Bergamo, place him almost on a level with the first luminaries of art; and if he makes no great figure in Vasari's book, it is because that author had seen only his less studied and less splendid performances. To say the truth, he does not always exhibit the same energy of manner or the same correctness of design. The most brilliant period of

his career must, it seems, be computed from the year 1513, when, in preference to many artists of note, he was selected to paint the altar-piece for the Dominicans of Bergamo; and his decline may be dated from the year 1546, the date inscribed on the picture of S. Jacopo dell' Orto at Venice. He also painted some pictures at Ancona, and a considerable number at Recanati in the church of S. Domenico, where, interspersed amidst some masterly performances, (his smaller pictures more especially,) we detect something of carelessness in the extremities, and something of dryness in the composition, after the manner of Giovanni Bellini; whether it be that these were among his earlier works, as Vasari conjectures, or whether they were rather among his latest. For it is notorious, that when he was now advanced in years, he was fond of retiring to Loreto, which is but a short distance from Recanati; where, continually engaged in supplicating the Virgin to lead him into a better path, he ended his days in tranquillity.

PALMA VECCHIO.

Jacopo Palma, usually styled Palma Vecchio, to distinguish him from his relative Jacopo, becoming enamoured of Giorgione's style, imitated him in the liveliness and lucid richness of his colouring, and seems more especially to have had him in his eye while painting his celebrated S. Barbara at S. Maria Formosa—of all his works the one which exhibits most strength and elevation of character. We meet with some other pictures of his in which he approximates nearer to Titian's manner, from whom Ridolfi will have it that he caught a certain sweetness peculiar to the earlier works of that great master. Such is the Last Supper at S. Maria Mater Domini, and the Virgin at S. Stefano of Vicenza, executed in the very sweetest style, and esteemed

one of his happiest performances. The great Carrara collection, as given in the work of Count Tassi, (page 93,) affords many specimens of both the above styles. Finally, in certain others, according to Zanetti, he displays greater powers of originality; as in the Epiphany in the island of S. Helena, where indeed we recognise one who copies nature accurately, but only the choicest nature; while he displays equal care in the disposition of his drapery, and in conforming his composition to the most approved rules. His works are for the most part characterized by a degree of diligence, an exquisiteness of finish, and an intimate blending of the colours, that sometimes render us unable to trace his pencil: it is asserted by one of his biographers, that he spent a great deal of time on each of his pictures, and was always a long while in retouching them. In the unsparing application of his colours, as well as in many other particulars, he resembles Lotto; and though he has not the animation and sublimity of that master, yet, generally speaking, he perhaps exhibits more beauty in the heads of his female and infantine figures. Some are of opinion, that in certain of his heads he has presented us with the features of his daughter Violante, of whom Titian was deeply enamoured, and a portrait of whom, by the hand of her father, was to be seen in the collection of a Florentine gentleman named Sera, who purchased many rarities at Venice, both for the house of Medici and for himself—(Boschini, page 368). Italy every where abounds with cabinet pictures ascribed to Palma; it abounds also with portraits, one of which has been lauded to the skies by Vasari; it abounds, too, with his Madonnas, accompanied for the most part by various Saints, in pictures of an oblong shape—a practice common to many other artists of that age. But the crowd of connoisseurs, who are unacquainted even with the names of these artists, no sooner fall in with a picture holding a middle course between the dryness of Giovanni Bellini's, and the soft, well-fed pencilling of Titian's style, than they at once pronounce it to be a Palma;

especially where they meet with well-rounded and well-coloured heads, well-finished landscapes, and drapery of a roseate, rather than of a ruddy hue. Thus Palma is in every body's mouth; while the others, and those by no means few in number, are never once thought of, except when they happen to have subscribed their pictures with their names.

CARIANI.

One of those whose style bears a strong resemblance to that of Palma and Lotto is Giovanni Cariani, an artist scarcely known beyond the limits of Bergamo and one or two of the neighbouring cities, and of whom Vasari makes no mention whatever. At Milan I met with a picture of his, bearing the date of 1514, and representing the Virgin surrounded by various Saints, where he seems to have taken Giorgione exclusively for his model. It is, if I mistake not, one of his juvenile performances, exhibiting figures of very inferior design compared with certain others of his which I have observed at Bergamo. Among them all, however, that which ranks first is the picture of the Virgin at the Servi, attended by a company of Saints and a *gloria* of Angels, with other Angels making melody at her feet. This is, indeed, a most delightful picture, rendered still more charming by a beautiful landscape with little figures in the distance; exhibiting, too, a tastefulness of colouring and a fulness of pencilling, equal to that of the most studied works of the two Bergamasque painters already noticed; in conjunction with whom, he forms a triumvirate that might do honour to any city. Tassi relates, that the celebrated Zuccarelli never visited Bergamo without gratifying himself with a sight of this picture; eulogizing it as the best altar-piece in the city, and one of the most beautiful that he had ever beheld. Cariani was moreover an excellent

portrait painter, as is manifest from a picture in the possession of the Counts Albani, containing various portraits of that noble family; where, though confronted with the most eminent colourists, he would almost appear the only one deserving of particular admiration.

PARIS BORDONE.

Paris Bordone, descended from a noble family of Trevigi, and endowed with a loftiness of genius corresponding with his birth, was for a short time a scholar of Titian's, then an ardent follower of Giorgione's, and lastly, the inventor of an original style whose peculiar gracefulness has never been imitated. There is in his pictures a gaiety and cheerfulness of colouring, which, as he could not make it truer than that of Titian, he seems to have been resolved to make more varied and more bewitching; while, at the same time, his paintings are by no means deficient in design, gracefulness of drapery, vivacity of countenance, or chasteness of composition. At S. Giobbe he painted a St. Andrew nailed to his cross, with an Angel hovering over him, and conferring on him the crown of martyrdom; and having to introduce two other Saints, (St. Peter being one of them,) he represented the latter in the act of looking up to the martyr and in some sort envying him—an expedient equally novel and picturesque. The same observation holds good of his other works, many of which were executed for his native place or for the neighbouring towns. Every one of his subjects is old in itself; and yet every one of them is handled in a novel manner. Such is that genuine Paradise in the church of All Saints at Trevigi; and, in the cathedral of the same city, that representation of the mysteries of Christianity in an altar-piece divided into six groups, for the purpose, I suspect, of gratifying those who wished to have it so; in which groups he seems to have comprised within a

small compass whatever there is of the pleasing, the graceful, and the beautiful in all his other works. Among the most celebrated pictures in Venice is that of the Fisherman restoring the Ring to the Doge; a picture whose soft beauty contrasts admirably with the wildness of Giorgione's Tempest, near which it is placed. It is embellished with beautiful architectural ornaments and a number of animated and well-arranged figures, pleasingly varied both in attitude and drapery; insomuch that Vasari pronounces it his happiest performance. His cabinet pictures are very highly esteemed. Many of his Madonnas are readily recognised by the uniformity of their features: the same remark applies also to his portraits, the drapery of which he disposes in the manner of Giorgione, and in which he displays no small talent for invention and fanciful embellishment. Being invited to the court of Francis II., he there acquitted himself in a manner that gained the approbation of that monarch and his successor, and ensured his own substantial benefit. He had a son, who strove to emulate him in the art; but from the picture of Daniel in the church of S. Maria Formosa at Venice, we may guess how much he was inferior to him.

PORDENONE.

Finally, I include in this number Gio. Antonio Licinio, called also Sacchiense or Cuticello, till, having been wounded in the hand by a brother, he renounced his family names, and took that of Regillo. In general, however, he is called Pordenone, from the place of his nativity, formerly a town, but now a city of Friuli. In that province, says Vasari, " there were in his days a vast number of painters who had attained to eminence without having ever visited either Florence or Rome . . . . but Pordenone was the rarest genius and the most celebrated among

them all; surpassing the rest in the conception of his historical pieces, as well as in design, spirit, correctness of colouring, address at fresco-painting, quickness of execution, boldness of relief, and every other accomplishment of art." It is by no means certainly known whether he frequented the school of Giorgione, as some have imagined; and still less so whether he was a fellow pupil of his and Titian's under Gio. Bellini, as Rinaldis supposed. The opinion referred to by Ridolfi appears to me the nearest to the truth, that Pordenone having, while still a youth, studied the works of Pellegrino at Udine, subsequently adopted Giorgione's manner; following in this the bent of his own inclination —the painter's surest guide in the selection of his style. The other followers of Giorgione caught their master's manner, some more, some less accurately; but Pordenone caught its spirit—a spirit, than which it is not easy to find in the whole of the Venetian school, one of a more ardent, bold, and elevated character. In Lower Italy Pordenone is scarcely known except by name. The picture in the Borghese palace, containing portraits of his own family, is the largest work of his that I have seen in those parts. Indeed, it is but rarely that we meet with historical pieces of his even elsewhere; such, for example, as that exquisite Resurrection of Lazarus in the possession of the Lecchi family at Brescia. Nor do we find many altar-pieces of his beyond the confines of Friuli, where there are several scattered about in different places; though not all of them equally well authenticated. The genuineness of those few that he executed at Pordenone cannot be called in question, because he has described them in a little volume of memoirs. The collegiate church contains two of these; one of them a Holy Family with St. Christopher, executed in 1515, and beautifully coloured, but not altogether free from inaccuracy; the other executed in 1535, where, together with other Saints and a perspective, St. Mark is introduced in the act of consecrating a priest—a picture, according to its author, " sketched rather than finished," *(posta in opera*

non finita). A more finished specimen was an Annunciation of his in the church of S. Pier Martire at Udine; but this has since been retouched and spoiled. Some, however, prefer the altar-piece in S. Maria dell' Orto at Venice to all the rest. It is a S. Lorenzo Giustiniani surrounded by various other Saints; amongst whom is a St. John the Baptist, partly in a state of nudity, and designed with a degree of accuracy that might do credit to schools the most distinguished in the anatomical style; and a St. Augustine, who seems to stretch forth his hand from the picture—a play of perspective repeated by this artist in various other places. At Placentia, too, where he had established himself, there is another very beautiful work—a picture representing the Nuptials of St. Catherine, on a dark ground, which serves to give a high degree of roundness to those figures, the more delicate of which are as remarkable for gracefulness, as those of St. Peter and St. Paul, placed on the two sides, are for dignity of character. In the latter of these, as also in the S. Rocco at Pordenone, he has presented us with a portrait of himself.

He displayed most merit, however, in his fresco works, great part of which he executed in Friuli, and very many of them in towns and villas now no longer known to foreigners except as containing some picture of Pordenone's. Such are Castions, Valeriano, Villanova, Varmo, Palazzuola; in which places it is notorious he exercised his talent. Some few works of his still exist in the palace of the Cesarei at Mantua, and at Genoa in the Doria palace; some few also at Venice in the church of S. Rocco, and in the convent of S. Stefano; a considerable number, and those in high preservation, in the cathedral of Cremona, and in S. Maria di Campagna at Placentia, where, in different collections, and on certain façades, some other remains of his are pointed out. In his fresco paintings he is not always equally studied and correct; especially in his native Friuli, where in his youth he painted a good deal and at a low price. He shews

more taste in his male than in his female figures, his *beau ideal* of which he seems to have derived not unfrequently from certain originals of a robust rather than an elegant form—those of the neighbouring Carnia—where he is said to have met with his first love. Still in every performance of his we may invariably trace the workings of a vigorous fancy, at once fertile in ideas, as well as capable of varying and subdividing them, and of expressing the different passions of the mind—a painter who meets the difficulties of art with foreshortenings the most novel, perspectives the most elaborate, and a relief which makes his figures look as if ready to start from the canvass.

In Venice he seemed even to surpass himself. The emulation, or, rather, the enmity subsisting between him and Titian, spurred him on night and day to fresh exertion, and sometimes even led him to take the precaution of arming himself while he painted; and it is the opinion of many, that Titian profited by this rivalry, just as Raphael profited by that which subsisted between him and Michael Angelo. In this case, also, the one excelled in grandeur, the other in gracefulness of style; or, as Zanetti expresses it, in Titian we recognise more of nature than of manner, in Pordenone nature and manner seem to contend for the mastery. The fact, however, of his having been Titian's rival does him no little honour, and, in the Venetian school, ensures him at least the second rank, and that at a period so fruitful in eminent artists. Nay, at that time he was not without his party, who preferred him even to Titian himself; for, as I have elsewhere observed, there is nothing that so excites the admiration of the many, as the powerful effect and the magic of chiaroscuro—an art in which he paved the way for Guercino. Pordenone enjoyed the favour of Charles V., who raised him to the rank of cavalier: he was subsequently invited to the court of Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, where he shortly afterwards died; not without suspicion of having been poisoned.

TITIAN.

It is high time that we pass to Titian of Vecello; as the reader, perhaps, has long since been of opinion. I shall not, however, be able to answer his expectations as I could wish; for when we have once formed a very high idea of an artist, all that one can say about him seems not only to fall short of his merit, but even in some sort to degrade him. But if, in estimating the talents of different artists, a precise indication of the distinguishing merits of each individual be considered more to the purpose than mere indulgence in vague panegyric, I may adduce the opinion of an accomplished critic, who used to say, that Titian saw further into nature, and copied it more correctly than any one else; and may also add with another, that he was of all painters the greatest confidant of nature—a sort of universal master, who, in all that he undertook to treat, whether the human figure, the elements, landscapes, or any other subject, has contrived to invest them with the strictest character of truth. He inherited from nature a solidity, evenness, and sagacity of temper, which led him to affect the true rather than the novel and the specious—a kind of temper as necessary to the composition of a great painter as of a great writer.

The education which he received, first from Sebastiano Zuccati, a native either of the Valteline or of Trevigi, and next from Gio. Bellini, rendered him a careful and accurate observer of every object, however minute, that presents itself to the eye: insomuch that, when, having now arrived at man's estate, he took it into his head to emulate Albert Durer, and painted at Ferrara the Christ to whom the Pharisee is shewing the piece of tribute money, he even surpassed that elaborate master in minuteness. In the figures which compose this picture, one might almost count the hairs of the head and of the hands, as well as distinguish the pores of the skin, and the images of ob-

jects formed on the retina of the eye; and yet the work loses nothing by this minuteness; for while, at a distance, Durer's pictures dwindle into comparative insignificance, and lose much of their effect, this of Titian's even seems to expand and improve upon us in grandeur. There is, however, no other work of his in this style; and we know that, while he was still a young man, he applied himself to the freer and more easy manner pursued by Giorgione, at first his fellow-scholar, afterwards his rival. Some few portraits, painted by Titian during this brief period, are hardly to be distinguished from those of Giorgione himself. I have said during this brief period, for but a short time elapsed before he hit upon a new style of his own, less luminous, less fiery, and less elevated, but possessing greater sweetness, and calculated to charm the spectator, not by novelty of effect, but by its genuine character of truth. The earliest work that we meet with in this his own peculiar style is an Archangel Raphael with Tobias by his side, in the sacristy of S. Marziale, painted when he was thirty years of age; nor, if we take Ridolfi for our guide, did any great while intervene, before he executed at the Scuola della Carità that picture of our Saviour which is one of the noblest, and, as regards the number of figures, one of the richest works of his that now exists; many having perished in different conflagrations.

Design.—From these and other works painted by him in his best days, critics have formed their idea of his style; the question on which they are most divided being that of design. Mengs denies that he can be placed among those who were eminent in design; setting him down as a painter of ordinary taste, and far from versed in the correct method of the ancients, though, had he studied it, he acknowledges he might have succeeded in it; seeing how true an eye he possessed for copying nature. In this opinion Vasari seems to coincide, where he introduces Michael Angelo, after having looked at a Leda of Titian's, exclaiming, " what pity it is the Venetian artists

were not taught to design accurately from the very first." Tintoretto, though he was his rival, pronounces a less unfavourable opinion, affirming that Titian "produced some things which it was impossible to surpass: but that some of his others might have been more correctly designed." Among the best he might well have placed—the Martyrdom of St. Peter, in the church of St. John and St. Paul, in which, says Algarotti, the greatest masters have confessed "themselves unable to discover even the shadow of a defect,"—as well as the Bacchanal and the other pieces he executed for a cabinet of the Duke of Ferrara, which Agostino Caracci pronounces "to be the finest pictures in the world and the wonders of art." According to Du Fresnoy's opinion, he was less successful in the figures of men: but he adds, that "we meet with certain female and infantine figures of his that are exquisite both for design and colouring"—a compliment which, as regards the figures of his females, Algarotti also pays him, and, as regards those of children, even Mengs himself. Nay, it is a sort of received opinion, that, in figures of this kind, no one ever equalled him; and that Poussin and Fiamingo, who attained such eminence in this branch of art, acquired it from Titian's pictures. Reynolds also affirms, that though his style is not altogether so chaste as that of certain others of the Italian schools, it is nevertheless accompanied by a sort of senatorial dignity; that in portrait painting his merits are of the highest order; and that, lastly, his works might be studied with advantage even by such as look for the sublime.

Zanetti assigns him the first rank in design among all the more distinguished colourists; he represents him as having attentively studied anatomy, and as having moreover copied the best remains of antiquity; but suspects that he never much cared to affect an intimate acquaintance with the muscles, nor always took the trouble to give ideal beauty to his contours; whether it

was that he had not learnt the method of doing this sufficiently soon, or that we must attribute it to some other cause. For the rest, he observes, "that Titian invariably exhibits an elegance, a correctness, and nobleness of character in his female and infantine figures; while for the most part he displays grandeur, erudition, and dignity in those of his men;" and, in proof of his knowledge of anatomy, he produces the historical pieces painted in the sacristy of the church della Salute, where the beauty of the design is remarkable even in the extremities, and where its effect is moreover heightened by the intimate knowledge of foreshortening *(del sotto in su)* with which it is combined. Had the historian, however, taken into account the works of this artist scattered throughout different foreign countries, he might have added much more on the subject of his Bacchanals and his Venuses; one of which, in the Royal Gallery at Florence, was justly said to rival the Venus of Medicis, the last perfection of Grecian art. To prove his skill in the disposition of the drapery, Zanetti instances the St. Peter painted over an altar of the Pesaro palace, with a mantle most ingeniously executed; adding, that he now and then purposely neglected the drapery, in order to give bolder relief to some neighbouring object. Such being the discordant opinions entertained by profound connoisseurs, I shall not venture to interpose my own judgment. I will only observe, in praise of this consummate artist, that, had a more fortunate combination of circumstances led him to adopt more approved maxims of design, he would perhaps have been the first painter in the world. He would at any rate have made mankind unanimous in pronouncing him perfect in design, as they are already unanimous in pronouncing him to be perfect and altogether unrivalled in colouring.

Chiaroscuro and Colouring.—Numbers have treated of this latter, as well as of his chiaroscuro; among these, Zanetti, who spent so many years in examining it, handles it very copiously. Some of his remarks I here select; observing, however, that

Zanetti left it for the studious to make a great many more reflections for themselves by actual inspection of Titian's works. And, in truth, his pictures are the surest guides we have to direct us in the right path as regards colouring; but they are like the writings of the classics, which, though equally open to all, and commented upon alike for all, afford instruction to those only who are capable of reflecting upon them. I have already noticed the brilliance which predominates in the works of the Venetian painters, and especially in those of Titian, whom the rest adopted as their model. I have observed, that it was the result of a very light-coloured *imprimitura*, or ground, upon which each of the colours being laid on again and again, they produce at length the effect of a transparent veil, and render the tints no less mellow than lucid. Nor did he proceed in a different manner in his stronger shadows, covering them afresh with colour when dry, constantly seeking to give them greater force, and imparting to them more warmth where they seem just merging into the demi-tints. In his management of shadow he displayed great judgment, adopting a method which cannot be said to be a mere copy of the natural, inasmuch as it possesses not a little of the ideal. In the parts of his figures exposed to view, he principally shuns masses of bold and strong shadow, though they are sometimes to be met with in nature. They tend to produce a stronger relief, but they detract from the softness of the fleshes. Titian, for the most part, affected strong lights, taking care to soften down the less prominent parts by various shades of demi-tints; and then, drawing the other parts and the extremities with more boldness than is perhaps to be found in nature, he contrived to invest fictitious objects with a degree of life and fascination greater even than we find in real ones. Thus, in his portraits, he makes the stronger lights fall on the eyes, the nose, and the mouth, leaving the other parts in a sort of pleasing indistinctness, which adds much to the spirited air of his heads as well as to the general effect.

But as mere skilfulness in the art of heightening or diminishing shadow is not enough, unless it be combined with corresponding skilfulness of colouring, he in this respect also pursued an ideal method, which consisted in employing, in their proper places, either virgin tints taken directly from nature, or such artificial ones as produce the illusion required. On his pallet he used to keep but a few simple colours; but he had the tact to select such as would produce the most variety and contrast; and was also well acquainted with the limits to which this contrast might be carried, and the proper moment for having recourse to it. Hence it never betrays any thing like exaggeration; the varied colours that rise one above another in his paintings, have all the appearance of resulting from nature, and yet are the effect of consummate art. A piece of white cloth near to a naked figure makes it look as if worked up with bright vermilions; while in fact he merely used *terra rossa* with a little lake colour in the outlines and extremities. A similar result is produced in his pictures by objects of a dark or sometimes even of a black hue, which, besides contributing to the relief of the adjacent colour, serve to give greater effect to the figures worked up, as was said, by means of almost insensible demi-tints. It was a saying of his, handed down to us by Boschini, that whoever would become a painter should make himself thoroughly acquainted with the properties of three colours—white, red, and black; and that when about to paint fleshes, should never flatter himself with the hope of succeeding at the first trial, but only by rubbing in different colours repeatedly.

I here subjoin a few observations by Mengs, who so profoundly analyzed Titian's style. He calls him the first, after the revival of painting, who managed to avail himself of the ideal in the different colours of dress. Before his time all colours were used indiscriminately, and were laid on with the same gradations of light and shade. Titian discovered (unless we suppose Giorgione to have taught him) that red serves to approximate ob-

jects, yellow to retain the rays of light, while azure is of use in strong shadows: nor was he less intimately versed in colours of a more juicy nature (colori succosi): thus he could impart the same grace, clearness, and dignity of colouring to his shades and demi-tints, as to his stronger lights; as well as diversify, by great variety of demi-tints, the different complexions and the different superficies of bodies. Nor did any one better know how to maintain the equilibrium of the three colours above-mentioned, on which the harmony of pictures depends; an equilibrium difficult to be observed in practice, and to which Rubens, notwithstanding his skill in colouring, could never perfectly attain.

Invention and Composition.—In invention and composition, Titian betrays his usual character; never executing any thing without consulting nature. In the number of his figures he is somewhat frugal, and in grouping them displays a dexterity and ease which he used to illustrate by the simile of a bunch of grapes, the many separate parts of which compose a whole, well rounded as to shape, divested of heaviness by means of the different openings, and varied by demi-tints and chiaroscuros, according as the light falls upon it more or less powerfully. No contrasts that wear a studied appearance are to be found in these compositions; no violence of action that is not necessary to the story; the actors, generally speaking, preserve a staid and dignified demeanour, as though each respected the group of which he forms a part. Whoever admires the taste of the Greek relievos, where all is nature and propriety, will ever prefer the gravity of Titian's to the sprightliness of Paolo's and Tintoretto's composition, of which we shall have to speak elsewhere. Not that he was unskilled in that contrast both of action and of actors, in which his countrymen afterwards so much delighted; but he reserved it for Bacchanals, for battle-pieces—in short, for subjects that demanded it.

Expression.—In portraying the human countenance, it seems to be agreed that he was without a rival; and to this talent he in great measure owed his success, inasmuch as it served to give him an introduction to various splendid courts; as that of Rome in the time of Paul III., and those of Vienna and Madrid in the time of Charles V. and of his sons. Vasari confesses, that in this branch of art he attained the highest eminence, and that he executed portraits of numberless individuals of his time, and those the most illustrious either for their rank or their learning. But he evinced no less talent in delineating the affections of the mind. The Murder of St. Peter the Martyr, at Venice, and that of a Votary of St. Anthony, in the college of that name at Padua, are scenes than which I know not whether the whole compass of painting affords any thing more calculated to excite horror by the ferocity of the assassins, or compassion by the resigned demeanour of the victims. In the same manner, the great picture at the Grazie of Milan, representing the putting the Crown of Thorns on our Saviour's head, is animated with an expression that enchants us.

Keeping and Decoration.—With regard to keeping also and erudition, he has left not a few examples worthy of imitation: thus in the above-mentioned picture of the Crown of Thorns, wishing to mark the precise period of the event, he introduced into the prætorium a bust of Tiberius; a happy idea that might have done credit to a Raphael or a Poussin. In his architectural ornaments he sometimes availed himself of the assistance of others, especially that of the Rosa, of Brescia; yet his perspectives—that of the Presentation, for example—are very beautiful. In his landscapes he is unrivalled; though he took care not to introduce them merely for the sake of ornament, like certain others, who, aware of their ability in this respect, have wellnigh made cypresses spring up out of the midst of the sea. Titian makes the landscape of a picture subordinate to the story,

as in the case of the Murder of St. Peter the Martyr, where the gloom of the forest adds so much to the horrors of the scene; or else makes it contribute to give his figures greater effect, as in those pieces where the landscape is thrown into the distance. With what spirit and truth he represented the various effects of light, may be witnessed in his Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo in the church of the Jesuits at Venice, where he expressed, in a manner so different, the brightness of the fire, the flaring of the torches, and the splendour of a supernatural light which descends upon the Martyr—a picture which has sustained great injury from time, but of which there is a sort of duplicate in the Escurial. He was also peculiarly happy in expressing the precise time of day when the incident, proposed to be represented, occurred; frequently making choice of the period about sun-set, and drawing from it the most beautiful accidents of light.

Command of Pencil.—From all that has been said we may infer, that Titian was not one of that class of Venetians who preferred rapidity of execution to depth and accuracy of composition; although we must be cautious how we deny him even the attribute of rapidity. That he had a ready hand there can be no doubt; and of this, without prejudice to his design, he gave proofs in the fresco paintings which still exist at Padua, and which in some measure compensate the loss of those executed in the capital; where there no longer remains any thing of this sort in tolerable preservation, except a St. Christopher in the Ducal palace—a stupendous picture for character and expression. We must not look for the same facility of execution in his oil paintings. Indeed, he made no great pretension to it, and took great pains to attain to a perfect conception of his subject: nay, when he had once sketched his works with some degree of freedom and boldness, he laid them aside for a time in this condition, returning to them afterwards afresh with an eye prepared to purge them from every defect. Amidst a valuable collection of his finished pieces, the Barbarigo palace contains a few of these

sketches. In the finishing of his works it is well known that he took great pains, and that he was at the same time very solicitous to conceal this circumstance: in fact, in some things of his we now and then meet with certain strokes of the pencil, so bold and spirited, that they enchant the professor; at once compassing a point long aimed at, and imprinting on every object the genuine character of nature. Such was the method he pursued in his best days; but towards the close of his life, which the plague put an end to when he was now within one year of having attained the age of a hundred, his sight and hands failing him, he gave into a less finished style, executing his pictures by separate strokes of the pencil, and with difficulty making the colours blend together. Vasari, who saw him again in 1566, even at that period could no longer recognise Titian in Titian; and still more would this have been the case during the subsequent years of his life. Titian, however, with a weakness peculiar to old age, was not aware of this deterioration, and did not refuse to receive orders up to the very last year of his life. At S. Salvatore there is an Annunciation of his, in which there is nothing to arrest the spectator's attention except the great name of the author; and because some persons had asserted that it either was not, or at least did not appear to be his, he felt irritated at it, and with a sort of doting indignation affixed to it the following inscription: " Titianus fecit fecit." It is agreed, however, among those best able to give an opinion on the subject, that much may be learnt even from his latest works; just as poets, when speaking of the Odyssey, pronounce it indeed to be the production of old age, but still the production of a Homer. Some of the pictures of this latter period that we meet with in different collections, are considered doubtful; as are also certain copies executed by his disciples and retouched by him; particularly certain Madonnas and Magdalenes which I have seen in very many places, and with little or no variation in them. On this head we must not forget the story told by Ridolfi; that Ti-

tian, whenever he went from home, used purposely to leave the door of his studio open, in order that his scholars might surreptitiously copy the pictures he had left there; and that, after a while, finding these copies saleable, he gladly purchased them, and having bestowed a little pains in retouching them, caused them to pass for originals of his own. To this account the same historian adds the following marginal note:—*Vedi che accortezza!* "Observe what shrewdness!" To which I would add as another:—"Remember that Titian's merit must not be estimated, as is sometimes the case, by duplicates of this sort."

Titian had not the same merit as a master that he had as a painter. Whether it was from impatience of that irksomeness which accompanies the task of teaching, or whether it was rather from the fear of seeing a rival start up, he was always averse to giving instruction. He invariably treated with harshness, and even went so far as to persecute, Paris Bordone, who was possessed with an ardent desire of imitating him; Tintoretto he expelled from his studio; and his own brother, who had evinced an uncommon talent for painting, he dexterously turned to mercantile pursuits. "Hence," (says Vasari,) "there are but few who can, strictly speaking, be called his scholars, for he taught but little; every one, however, has made more or less proficiency according as he has known how to avail himself of Titian's performances*."

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* One of Titian's most successful followers was Bonifazio, of Verona. "In Boschini's time," (says Lanzi,) "it was not unusual at Venice, nor is it unusual even now, to hear people asking, with respect to certain doubtful pictures:—'Is this a Titian or a Bonifazio?'"

SCHIAVONE.

ANDREA SCHIAVONE, of Sebenico, surnamed Medula, may be ranked among the followers of Titian as regards his colouring, though even in this he displayed a certain original vivacity. Few have inherited from nature so decided a turn for painting; and of this it is said his father became aware, when, on shewing him over the city, whither he had taken him while yet a boy for the purpose of procuring him some situation, he found it difficult to get him from the spot whenever he chanced to meet with painters at work, and hence he procured him employment among them. Fortune, however, frowned upon him, and such was his poverty, that he was under the necessity of earning his daily subsistence rather as a menial than as an artist. Hence he began to paint without having grounded himself in design; nor had he for several years any other patrons than here and there a master-plasterer, who recommended him for the ornamenting of façades, or a master-painter of furniture, who availed himself of his assistance. Titian brought him into some notice by proposing him, among various other painters, for the Library of St. Mark, where he wrought with greater accuracy than perhaps in any other place. Tintoretto, too, did justice to his merit; frequently assisting him in his works for the purpose of observing the art with which he coloured; and even keeping a specimen of his pictures in his own studio, being accustomed to say, that every painter should have done the same, but that he would have done wrong had he not designed better than Schiavone. Nay more; he even went so far as to imitate him; and at the Carmine executed an altar-piece on the subject of the Circumcision, so closely resembling his style, that Vasari actually described it as a work of Schiavone's. This artist, indeed, held Schiavone in such contempt as to assert, "that it was only by chance he now and then produced a good picture;" a charge indignantly repelled by Agos-

tino Caracci, as may be seen in Bottari's life of Franco. In truth, with the exception of design, every thing else in Schiavone was highly deserving of commendation, whether we consider the beauty of the composition; the vivacity of the attitudes, copied from engravings of Parmigianino's works; the charms of the colouring, which possesses something of Andrea del Sarto's sweetness; or the style of pencilling, which is that of a consummate master. His reputation increased after his death; and his pictures, for the most part of a mythological character, were cut out from the pieces of furniture on which they were painted, and found their way into different collections. Guarienti cites three of these in the Dresden gallery; Rosa, four in the Imperial gallery at Vienna. I have met with some very charming ones of this sort in the Casa Pisani at S. Stefano, and in almost every other collection at Venice. At Rimini also, in the possession of the Padri Teatini, I saw two pictures of his that were made to match—a Nativity of our Saviour, and an Assumption of the Virgin—the figures of which are small, after the manner of Poussin, and among the most beautiful he ever executed*.

TINTORETTO.

Jacopo Robusti, the son of a Venetian dyer, and surnamed Tintoretto, was a scholar of Titian's, who, out of jealousy at his abilities, soon dismissed him from his studio. It was by no means Tintoretto's aim to be called a follower of Titian: on the contrary, he panted to become the head and founder of a new

* About this time there flourished at Brescia—Alessandro Bonvicino, commonly called il Moretto di Brescia—Il Romanino, inferior to the former according to Vasari, but equal to him in the opinion of Ridolfi—and Lattanzio Gambara, the scholar and son-in-law of Romanino.

school, which should perfect Titian's manner, and add to it other merits in which it was deficient—a noble idea, the offspring of a genius no less bold than fervid and sublime, whose ardour was rather increased than diminished by his dismissal from Titian's studio. Necessitated by his poverty to content himself with an incommodious apartment, he ennobled it with his earliest performances. In it he had affixed the following inscription:—"Michael Angelo's design and Titian's colouring!"—and as he copied the works of the latter with indefatigable industry, so he night and day studied casts taken from the statues of the former at Florence; to which he added many ancient statues and relievos. In a catalogue of ancient sculpture of the year 1695, cited by Morelli, we find mention of a head of Vitellius, which Tintoretto "was continually copying and designing." He used frequently to design from models by candle-light, the better to produce strong shadow, and thus acquire facility in the representation of powerful chiaroscuro. With the same view he made wax or chalk models, and having taken care to dress them properly, arranged them in little houses made of card or pieces of wood, so contrived as to exhibit correctly the effects of light and shade. These same models he also suspended from the ceiling by pieces of string, placing them in various positions, and drawing them in different points of view, in order to make himself master of the art of foreshortening on ceilings—an art in which at that time the Venetians were less intimately versed than the Lombard painters. Meanwhile, he did not neglect the study of anatomy, seeking to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the action of the muscles and the structure of the human frame; and taking the utmost pains to represent the naked figure under various foreshortenings and in different attitudes, in order to impart to his compositions all the variety that we meet with in nature. By such pursuits as these he prepared the way for the introduction of the right mode of study among his followers, which consists in beginning by designing the best models, and, after having

thus acquired an idea of a correct style, proceeding to copy the naked figure and amend its defects. With these helps he united a genius which Vasari, though one of his severest critics, could not help admiring, pronouncing it the most terrible (il più terribile) the art had ever witnessed;—an imagination always fertile in new ideas; a fire and animation which enabled him to conceive correctly the boldest characters the passions can assume, and which never failed him till he had completely transferred them to the canvass.

But what are great erudition and transcendent genius, or what are all the other requisite accomplishments of an artist put together, without diligence, a virtue which, according to Cicero, in itself comprises all the rest? This virtue Tintoretto for some time possessed, and he then produced works in which the severest critics could not find the shadow of a fault. Of this kind is the Miracle of the Slave at the school of St. Mark, which he painted in his thirty-sixth year, and which passes for one of the wonders of Venetian painting. Here the colouring is in Titian's style, the chiaroscuro remarkably bold, the composition chaste and correct, the figures select, the drapery studied, the attitudes of the bystanders incredibly diversified, appropriate, and animated; more especially that of the Saint who flies to administer relief—a figure which presents us in some sort with the lightness of a disembodied spirit. There, too, he painted some other pieces of such exquisite beauty, that, on beholding them, Pietro da Cortona exclaimed:—"Were I to take up my abode in Venice, not a festival should pass by without seeing me resort hither to feast my eyes on these objects, and, above all, on the design." The Crucifixion at the school of S. Rocco—than which, notwithstanding the hackneyed nature of the subject, it is impossible to meet with any thing treated in a more novel manner—is also a highly esteemed performance. Nor are there wanting other examples of his extraordinary powers in that place, which he filled with pictures so remarkable for their variety and novelty;

but, for the sake of brevity, I shall content myself with noticing, as a third, the Last Supper, which is now in the church della Salute; having been removed from the refectory of the Crociferi, for which it was executed. Those who saw it in the situation for which it was intended, have described it as a miracle of art; for the construction of the room was so well followed up in the picture, and imitated with such skilfulness of perspective, that it made the apartment look double its real size. Nor are these three works, on which he inscribed his name, as being those on which he chiefly prided himself, the only ones worthy of his great reputation: Zanetti records not a few others finished with exquisite care, and all to be seen in public at Venice; to say nothing of those that are scattered through other cities of Europe.

But diligence is rarely found to accompany a rage for achieving a great deal—the true source in this and a multitude of other artists of painting badly, or at least worse than they might have done. Hence Annibal Caracci has remarked, that in many of his pictures Tintoretto appeared inferior to Tintoretto; and Paul Veronese, though so great an admirer of his genius, used to complain "that he did injury to his fellow-artists by thus painting in any style; which was in fact the very way to lower the respectability of the profession." (Ridolfi.) Similar exceptions may be taken to that numerous class of his works, which, invented on the spur of the moment, executed without study, and in great part left unfinished, betray both error of design and defect of judgment. In these we sometimes meet with a crowd of figures either superfluous or badly grouped; and, what is still more usual, all of them in a state of violent exertion, without a single spectator quietly looking on, as in the case of Titian's works and those of others who excelled in composition. In Tintoretto's figures we must not look for that senatorial dignity which Reynolds found in those of Titian. Tintoretto aimed at sprightliness rather than decorum, and from among the common

people of his native place, who are perhaps the sprightliest of Italy, he derived the models both of his heads and his attitudes; and applied them sometimes even to the gravest subjects. In some of his Last Suppers, we now and then meet with an Apostle that reminds us of the gondoliers of the Grand Canal, when, with body bent forward and one arm lifted up to ply the oar, they raise the head with a certain air of innate ferocity, either for the purpose of keeping on the look out, of exchanging repartees, or engaging in disputation. He also deviated from Titian's method of colouring; making use of dark grounds instead of such as were of a white chalky colour; a circumstance from which his pictures have suffered more than any others in Venice. Nor is the choice or general tone of his colours the same as Titian's: the azure, or ash-coloured, is that which predominates; and this detracts from the gaiety of the picture, as much as it aids the effect of the chiaroscuro: in his fleshes, those of his portraits more especially, we often meet with a sort of vinous tinge. Even the proportions of his figures are different from those of Titian: he does not affect the fulness of the latter; aiming rather at lightness, and sometimes erring on the side of slenderness. The most neglected parts of his works, however, are the draperies; most of them displaying either long and straight folds, or too much airiness, or some other kind of mannerism. Of his want of judgment, or rather his pictorial extravagances, it were useless to say any thing, Vasari having already said more than enough while giving a description of his Last Judgment at S. Maria del Orto.

Yet Vasari, notwithstanding the severity of his criticism, was forced to confess, that if in that picture, (and the same is true of others,) its author had paid as much attention to the several parts as he did to the whole piece, it would have been a most stupendous work. Even in those pieces in which, if we may so say, he took it into his head to play the *improvvisatore*, he still shews a command of pencil worthy a first-rate master; a certain

originality of genius which here and there manifests itself in the play of light, the difficult foreshortenings, the fanciful inventions, the relief, and harmony of his performances; and, where we chance to meet with them in good preservation, even in the gracefulness of his colouring. In the art of animating his figures, more especially, he proves himself a consummate master; it being an observation so common as almost to have passed into a proverb, that Tintoretto is the one to study for movement (la mossa). On this head Pietro da Cortona used to remark, that were we to inspect every picture that has yet been engraved, we should meet with no artist to equal him in fire and animation, (furore pittoresco). He lived to a great age, painting continually, so as almost to make it impossible to give a complete catalogue of his works; seeking every means in his power to give vent to his irrepressible ardour, either in pictures of an extraordinary size, or such at least as were crowded with actors; amongst which, the Paradise, in the hall of the Great Council, painted in old age, and peopled with an almost countless multitude of figures, extorted the praise and admiration even of the Caracci themselves. Had these figures been disposed more judiciously, and grouped in a less confused manner, Algarotti would not have censured this picture as he did, nor have adduced it as an instance of crude composition. Genuine works of Tintoretto's are not to be found in any great number in the galleries of Italy. In Venice, however, they are by no means rare, and there we may by actual inspection satisfy ourselves of the truth of that remark which, when we merely read it in Ridolfi, appears so improbable—that Tintoretto finished his performances with all the nicety of a miniature painter. The Barbarigo palace at S. Polo contains a Susanna of his of this character, where in a small space he has represented a park, with birds and rabbits, and every thing else that can delight the eye, the whole as exquisitely finished as the figures themselves.

Little need be said of his scholars, of whom none succeeded

better than Domenico Tintoretto, his son. Domenico followed his father's footsteps, but only as Ascanius followed those of Æneas—that is to say, "non passibus æquis." In the heads, the colouring, and arrangement of his pieces, he strongly resembles his father; but in point of genius he is greatly inferior to him; and some of his more spirited works are either referred at once to the latter, or he at least is suspected to have contributed the more meritorious parts.

BASSANO.

Jacopo da Ponte, son of Francesco da Ponte, was born at Bassano, a short time after the birth of Tintoretto, and was initiated by his father in the rudiments of art. The earliest works that he executed in his native place, at the church of S. Bernardino, bear the impress of such an education. Repairing afterwards to Naples, he was recommended to Bonifazio, a master no less jealous of his art than was Titian or Tintoretto; insomuch that Bassano never had an opportunity of seeing him lay on his colours, except by peeping through the holes in the door of his studio. At Venice he abode a short time, exercising himself in designing the sketches of Parmigianino, and in copying the pictures of Bonifazio and Titian, whose scholar he was, according to some manuscripts. And if conformity of manner (which is but a very equivocal proof) were sufficient ground to go upon, we should be compelled to believe this, so much does Bassano's second style resemble that of Titian. There are but few pictures in this style to be met with in his native place: as a Flight into Egypt at S. Girolamo, and a Nativity of Christ in the possession of a Dr. Larber; both of them juvenile productions, but such that they might at the time have

seemed to hold out the promise of another Titian; so much have they of the same lusciousness of manner.

The death of his father obliged Jacopo to return and fix himself in his native place, at the present day a rich and populous city, and even then by no means a contemptible spot, delightfully situated, abounding with flocks and herds, and lying conveniently for markets and fairs. From circumstances such as these arose by little and little that third style of his, which is nature, grace, and simplicity itself, and which in Italy served as a prelude to that adopted by a whole nation of foreigners—the Flemings. In his pencilling Jacopo pursued two different methods. The first exhibits high finish and exquisite union of colours, combined with freedom of touch; the second (to which there are no means of attaining except by passing through the first) consists of pleasing and lucid tints laid on by separate strokes of the pencil, and with a command of hand and fearlessness of manner, that, when closely examined, makes the picture look like a confused mass of colouring, but at a distance produces a most agreeable and magical effect. In each of them he evinces an originality of style, which in great part consists in a certain lusciousness of composition. This composition partakes at once of the triangular and the circular; aiming at a certain contrast of attitude, so that if one figure is seen in face, the other is made to turn its back on the spectator; and yet seeking to preserve a sort of analogy, so that various heads, or, in default of these, some other figure may be found in the same line. With regard to the management of light, he makes it fall in partial masses without much diffusion, but displays consummate skill in causing it to conduce to the harmony of the whole; for by means of this paucity of light, aided by the frequency of demi-tints and the sparing use of blacks, he admirably contrives to blend the most opposite colours. In giving gradation to his lights, he often makes the shade of an inner figure serve as a ground

to one more forward, causing but little light to fall upon them, but that of a very bold and vivid character at their angles; as on the top of the shoulders, on the knees, and the elbows: to which end he adjusts his draperies in a manner natural in appearance, but in fact adapted with exquisite art to the furtherance of the system; varying their folds according to the difference of their materials, and that with a delicacy of tact that falls to the lot of few. His colours sparkle like gems, especially his greens, which possess an emerald tinge peculiar to himself.

At the outset of his career, Jacopo aspired to loftiness of style, and evinced some propensity for it in certain pictures on the façade of the Casa Michieli which still exist: of these, the most extolled is a Samson slaying the Philistines; works that partake of the boldness of Michael Angelo's manner. But, whether it was that he followed the natural bent of his genius, or merely his better judgment, he afterwards confined himself to smaller proportions and subjects of less force. Even in his altar-pieces the figures are usually much less than life, and never very animated; insomuch that it has been said, that, with Tintoretto, even old men assume the sprightliness of youth, while with Bassano, even young men put on the dulness of age. In his pictures we meet not with those splendid architectural ornaments which give such an air of stateliness to the compositions of the Venetian school: he seems to make a point of selecting subjects favourable to the introduction of candle-lights, huts, landscapes, cattle, brazen utensils; objects which he had continually before his eyes, and which he copied with surprising accuracy. His ideas were somewhat confined, and hence he was apt to repeat them; a fault in some measure attributable to his situation—it being an indisputable fact, that the ideas both of artists and writers become expanded and multiplied in large cities, while in small towns they become contracted. All this may we observe in his cabinet pictures, which were the most usual occupation of his life: for he did not produce many large altar-pieces. He worked at them at his

leisure in his studio, and with the assistance of his scholars prepared a considerable quantity of different sizes: he then despatched them to Venice, and sometimes to the more frequented fairs; whence so great is the number of *Bassanos*, that in good collections it is rather a disgrace to want them than an honour to be possessed of them. In these the same subjects continually recur—facts borrowed from the Old and New Testament—Feasts of Martha, the Pharisee, or the Rich Man, with a prodigal display of brazen utensils—Noah's Ark, the Return of Jacob, the Angel announcing the glad Tidings of Salvation to the Shepherds, pictures which all of them exhibit a multitude of different animals—the Queen of Sheba, or the Three Wise Men, with a princely parade of velvets and rich cloths—the Seizing of our Saviour, or the Placing of his Body in the Tomb, by torch-light. His pictures, when they treat of profane subjects, represent at one time cattle or brazen utensils exposed for sale; at another, the various occupations of husbandry corresponding with the four seasons of the year; at another, omitting human figures, a kitchen service, a poultry-yard, or similar objects. Not only do the same stories, however, and the same compositions return upon us in every collection, but even the same faces, which he was apt to copy from those of his own family; arraying one of his own daughters, for instance, at one time as a Queen of Sheba, at another as a Magdalene, at another as a Country-girl carrying fowls to the coop. I have even seen entire pictures, sometimes in small, sometimes in large proportions, bearing the name of "Bassano's Family." Of the former kind I noticed one at Genoa in the possession of Sig. Ambrogio Durazzo, where were represented the painter's daughters intent on feminine occupations, an infant son at play, and a servant maid in the act of lighting a candle. Of the latter kind there is one in the Medicean Museum, representing a company of musicians.

By this means he virtually confessed the poverty of his ima-

gination, but he derived from it one important advantage: it was this, that, by dint of repeating the same subjects over and over again, he brought them to the utmost degree of perfection he was capable of imparting to them. Such was the case with the Nativity of Christ, placed in the church of S. Giuseppe at Bassano; the masterpiece not only of Jacopo, but I had almost said of modern painting itself, as far as regards force of colouring and chiaroscuro. Such too was the case with the Burial of Christ at the Seminario of Padua, which Madame Patin caused to be engraved amongst the "Immagini de' celebri Dipintori," because she had never met with any other that breathed such a spirit of piety and holy horror. Such, lastly, was the case with the Sacrifice of Noah at S. M. Maggiore of Venice, in which he collected in one view all the beasts and birds that he had scattered through his other works; a picture so much admired by Titian himself, that he was desirous of purchasing a copy of it for his own studio.

Hence it happens that those works of Bassano, which he executed at a certain age and with care, are in very great repute and fetch very high prices, though they are not exempt from certain defects of perspective, certain improprieties of attitude, and certain errors of composition, especially in point of symmetry; it being a very common remark, that he was but little versed in drawing the extremities; whence he did his utmost to avoid the introduction of hands and feet into his pictures. These charges, and others already noticed, may admit of extenuation; there being works of Bassano's which prove that, when he so pleased, he could acquit himself much better than he was wont to do. That he knew how to vary his composition we may infer from the Nativity in the Ambrosian Library at Milan; and in the same manner he might have varied others. That he was capable of conceiving both with propriety and novelty, we may gather from his S. Rocco at Vicenza; and the same he might have

done in other cases. That he knew how to draw the extremities with accuracy, we learn from his St. Peter, in the church of the Umiltà at Venice. That he knew how to impart an air of dignity to his heads, is evident from a picture of the Queen of Sheba that I met with at Brescia; and this he might have done in other instances. But whether it was that he found the task too irksome, or from whatever other cause, he rarely attempted any thing of this kind; contenting himself with having attained the highest pitch of excellence in his own peculiar method of colouring, illuminating, and shading his pictures. And so universally was he admired, that he received numberless orders from various courts, and even an invitation to become painter to that of Vienna. What is more, Bassano, notwithstanding his defects, was honoured with the highest commendations, though not by Vasari, yet by other painters of greater name; by Titian, as we have already observed; by Annibal Caracci, who was so completely deceived by a book of his painted on a table, that he stretched out his hand to take it up, as though it had been a real one; and by Tintoretto, who had a high opinion of his colouring, and in some respects strove to imitate it.

Bassano brought up his four sons to the same profession, and by them his method was communicated to others, so that the Bassanese school lasted about a century, though all the while declining and departing from its primitive splendour. Of the members of Jacopo's family, the two who evinced the most aptitude for imitating him were Francesco and Leandro; and he used to pride himself on the former for the inventive powers he displayed, on the latter, for his extraordinary talent at portrait painting. Of the two others, Giambatista and Girolamo, he used to say, that they were excellent copyists of his works. All these, but especially the two last, having been initiated by their father in those delicacies of art which he himself practised, have imitated his manner so exactly, that many of their copies, exe-

cuted both during their father's life-time and after his death, have even from that period imposed upon professors, and passed for originals of Jacopo's.

PAOLO CALIARI, USUALLY STYLED PAOLO VERONESE.

WHILE the Bassanese painters were employing themselves in portraying the simplest objects of rural nature in pictures of a small size, another school sprang up at Verona, which surpassed all others in representing, in pictures on a very large scale, all the most beautiful objects of art; architectural ornaments, rich dresses, and other costly decorations, together with splendid retinues of servants, and a degree of pageantry worthy of royalty itself. It still remained to bring this branch of art to perfection; and it is the glory of Paolo Caliari that he accomplished it. He was the son of one Gabriele, a sculptor of Verona, and being destined by his father for the same pursuit, was accordingly instructed in the art of design and of modelling in wax. The youth, however, having evinced an extraordinary predilection for painting, his father placed him under the tuition of Badile, with whom, in a short time, he made astonishing progress. He had, however, fallen on an age in which, to arrive at distinction, great exertion was indispensable; so fertile was the Veronese school in men of talent.

Those who took the lead there when Paolo began to come into notice, were three fellow-citizens, whose names, in their native place, are, I had almost said, in as high repute as that of Paolo himself;—Batista d'Angelo, surnamed il Moro; Domenico Ricci, surnamed il Brusasorci; and Paolo Farinato, called degli Uberti. These three were invited to Mantua by the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to paint each of them an altar-piece in the ca-

thedral; and with them Paolo also was invited, who, though younger than either, in the opinion of Vasari and Ridolfi, surpassed them all in this trial of skill.

Paolo Caliari found the public prepossessed in favour of the above-mentioned artists, and in his native place attracted but very little notice during his earlier years. The public, always slow to appreciate rising talent, either knew not, or did not believe, that he had surpassed all his competitors at Mantua; so that the youth, urged by want, quitted Verona, leaving behind him, over an altar at S. Fermo, a Madonna between two Saints, with some few other first-fruits of his genius. He repaired at first to Vicenza, and afterwards to Venice. Nature had endowed him with a genius for the noble, the elevated, the magnificent, the pleasing, and the vast; nor was any provincial city capable, like Venice, of furnishing him with ideas proportioned to his powers. There he set about improving his colouring after the methods of Titian and Tintoretto; but seems to have aimed at surpassing them in the elegance and variety of his decoration: whence his scholars were wont to assert that, even at that period, he used attentively to study casts taken from ancient statues, as well as the engravings of Parmigianino's and Albert Durer's works. The first works that he produced at Venice, in the sacristy of S. Sebastiano, present us only with the first germs of his style, in the air of the heads, and the variety of drapery and attitude: for the rest, his manner was still somewhat timid; betraying rather a careful blending of the colours, than ease and boldness of pencilling. He wrought in a freer and more agreeable style a short time afterwards on the ceiling of the same church, where he represented the story of Esther—a work which gained him the admiration of the public, and served to introduce him to the very honourable works on which he was employed by the senate.

Meanwhile, he had an opportunity of visiting Rome, whither

he went in the suite of the ambassador Grimani, and where, at sight of the ancient and modern works of that city, " he felt his powers expand," (al volo suo sentì crescer le penne,) as he afterwards gave proof in the Palazzo Pubblico at Venice. Here it is that he displays his love of decoration in every picture that he painted; but especially in that Apotheosis of Venice, where he has represented her seated on high, arrayed in royal robes, crowned by Glory, trumpeted by Fame, attended by Honour, Liberty, and Peace: Juno and Ceres are also introduced as personifications of Grandeur and Felicity. In the upper part of the picture we see magnificent architectural ornaments and colonnades; lower down, in a sort of gallery, we behold a multitude of matrons with their sons, as well as a number of grandees in their robes of office; and still lower, warriors on horseback, arms, standards, prisoners, and trophies. This picture, or, to give it its true and specific name, this *ovato*, is a compendium of those wonders with which Paolo delights the eye, presenting us with a work that charms us no less as a whole than by the beauty of the component parts;—brilliant skies; sumptuous edifices, that seem to invite the foot of the spectator; heads both sprightly and dignified, chosen for the most part from nature, and embellished by art; attitudes at once graceful, expressive, and well contrasted; dresses of the most costly kind both for make and materials; crowns, sceptres, treasures, and a degree of magnificence worthy so august a subject; perspective that throws objects into distance without making them displease us when near; colours of the liveliest kind, sometimes cognate, sometimes contrasted, blended with a degree of skill peculiar to himself, and such as no precepts could teach; a command of pencilling that combines the utmost rapidity with the deepest judgment, and in which every stroke is made to tell—accomplishments these which had then become familiar to him, and which constitute the distinguishing character of his genius.

Still, however, this work did not so much contribute to his cele-

brity as the *Suppers* (Cene) he painted. It would be unpardonable in any one who undertakes to treat of his style, not to notice a subject which was more familiar to him than any other—a subject which he repeated so often, and of which, by dint of practising it and varying it in different ways, he made even the greatest princes ambitious of possessing specimens. Some of these I have met with on a small scale, and all of them beautiful;—the Last Supper, in S. Sofia at Venice; another highly finished work on the same subject in the Borghese palace at Rome; the Feast given to the Poor by St. Gregory, in the possession of the Serviti of Vicenza; besides others in different collections. In Venice he painted four Suppers for the refectories of four religious establishments, all of them on a very large scale, and displaying great fertility of invention. The first of these, thirty palms in length, representing the Marriage of Cana, is still at S. Giorgio Maggiore: copies of this work have found their way into every part of the world; indeed, it is inestimable, both for the number of figures it contains, which amount to one hundred and thirty, and the portraits of princes and illustrious personages who lived at the time; and yet it brought its author only ninety ducats. The second, representing the Supper prepared by Matthew for our Saviour, in the church of St. John and St. Paul, is in better preservation, and is in high repute for the heads, all of which Ricci, at an advanced age, copied for his own studio. The third is at St. Sebastian's, and represents the feast of Simon. The fourth, on the same subject, which was in the refectory of the Servi, was sent to Louis XIV., and placed at Versailles; and this was by the Venetian artists preferred to all the rest; whence they have supplied us with many copies of it. Indeed, the author himself made a copy of it for the refectory of the monks of SS. Nazario and Celso, which is now in the fine collection of the Doria palace at Genoa; and this, though of smaller dimensions, is considered equal to any of the preceding, and has been engraved by the celebrated

Volpato. Another, on the same subject, was also sent from Venice to Genoa, and this I saw in the possession of the Durazzo family, together with a Magdalene, which may be called one of the wonders of art. In these pictures how wide a field was opened for the introduction of architectural ornaments, and how happily did Paolo avail himself of them to add to the spectators of the feast! What varied passions has he expressed in the principal actors, and how appropriate to the time! How splendid are the decorations of the table, how choice the viands, how costly the dresses of the guests! Where there is so much beauty, we may well pardon some incorrectness of design, into which Paolo occasionally falls, and some inattention to antique costume, of which he is guilty continually. At any rate, we know that Guido, great as he was, overlooked these defects, insomuch that he used to say:—"Were it given me to choose what painter I would be, I would be Paolo Veronese; in others we discover indications of art, but in him all is nature."

This painter, during the sixty years that he lived, produced a great number of works; but he cannot, like many others, be charged with having produced too many. Paolo did not execute a single picture but what was worthy of him; almost every one of them, observes Ridolfi, has found some copyist ready to repeat it; an honour that artists have not thought proper to pay to Tintoretto's works, or those of many others. The plan he pursued of using light grounds, and, as far as he was able, virgin tints, has contributed to the preservation and the freshness of his colouring. In Venice, we meet with pictures of his that are still radiant with all the beauties that he shed over them. One of the most celebrated is that in the Pisani palace, representing the Presentation of the family of Darius to Alexander the Great, which astonishes us by its magnificence, and moves us to pity by its expression. The Rape of Europa was formerly not less admired; a work which he executed on a large scale in various groups; imitating in this the Leda of Coreggio: in the

first group, Europa appears amidst a company of Virgins in the act of caressing the Bull, and of attempting to mount upon his back: in the second, she is seen actually mounted, and riding delightedly along the shore, followed by the shouts of her companions: in the third, (the only one in large proportions,) she is seen borne over the waves, herself filled with terror, and her maidens vainly bewailing her loss. This painting, which adorns the Ducal palace, having suffered much from time, has been retouched.

At Verona, the climate of which is more favourable to paintings, it is easier to meet with works of Paolo's unimpaired by restoration. Many of the nobles possess specimens of them, especially the Bevilacqua family, which formerly patronized him; and it was out of gratitude for this, that, in a portrait which he painted for one of the family, he introduced himself standing by in the character of a domestic. But his S. Giorgio, which some look upon as the best picture at Verona, is perhaps the best preserved work of his that now exists. The S. Giuliano, of Rimini, another exquisite picture, and worthy almost of being compared with the S. Giorgio—the S. Afra of Brescia—and the S. Justina of Padua, which are in their respective churches, have suffered but little; but the last is placed too high. Paolo executed a great number of cabinet pictures. Portraits; Venuses, Adonises, Cupids, Nymphs, and figures of the like kind, in which he could indulge in elegance of form, fanciful embellishment, and novelty of invention, were the subjects most familiar to his pencil: these are to be met with in many different galleries; even in the Imperial one. Among sacred subjects, his favourite was that of the Nuptials of St. Catherine, and of these one of the most studied found its way into the Royal collection at the Pitti palace. He also painted a good many Holy Families, in which he sought to avoid the more hackneyed style of composition by introducing new conceits. Even his sacred pieces were many of them copious historical compositions; as, for instance, the

Massacre of the Innocents in the Borghese palace, as exquisitely finished as though it had been an illumination; the Esther, belonging to the king of Sardinia, at Turin; the Queen of Sheba, (accompanied by a troop of maidens,) before the throne of Solomon. Saloons and other apartments, as well as various façades, embellished by fresco paintings of his, such as poetical allegories or historical pieces, are frequently to be seen both at Venice and in the palaces and villas of the Venetian state. One of these villas, in the territory of Asolo, which formerly belonged to the Doge Manin, is well worthy of a visit: the architecture is Palladio's, the stuccos Vittoria's, the pictures of the Muses, and those of various other pagan deities, are the works of Paolo—a combination of talent that might suffice to render this villa as famous among those of the moderns, as that of Lucullus was among those of the ancients*.

* The more distinguished of Paolo's school were—Benedetto Caliari, his brother, and Carlo and Gabriele Caliari, his sons. Batista Zelotti was at once the imitator, the companion, and the rival of Paolo.

Venetian School.

EPOCH III.

OWING TO THE MANNERISTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, PAINTING DECLINES AT VENICE.

It would seem the fated condition of all sublunary things, that they should never continue long in the same state, so that, after they have attained their highest elevation, we may shortly afterwards look for their decline. On no point whatever can the glory of pre-eminence be long confined to one single spot or one single nation. It is continually shifting from place to place: they who yesterday received laws from such or such a people, to-day impose them; and they who are to-day the teachers of a nation, will to-morrow be anxious to become its disciples. As regards painting, we have already witnessed these revolutions in the works of the Florentine and Roman schools, which, having attained their zenith, began to decline precisely at the time when that of Venice was rising into fame. We shall now have to witness the decline of this latter, at the very time when that of Florence began to lift up its head once more, and when that of Bologna attained its highest eminence; and what is still more surprising, attained it by studying the works of the Venetian school. Thus it is! The Caracci studied the works of Titian, Giorgione, Paolo, and Tintoretto, and thence formed styles and reared pupils, that did honour to the whole of the seventeenth century. The Venetians studied these same models, and derived from them a degree of mannerism which they themselves carried to a blameable excess, but their disciples still more so. These, having turned their attention in the first instance to the works of the more classic artists, and attained some degree of

skill in design and colouring, aimed at filling large pieces with figures not taken from nature, but derived either from the engravings and pictures of others, or from their own imagination; and always fancied they wrought the better, in proportion as they wrought the quicker. I cannot but think that the example set by Tintoretto was rather prejudicial than serviceable to that age. Few would give themselves the trouble to rival him in that deep knowledge of the art which serves in some measure to throw a veil over his defects. His haste, his negligence, his *imprimiture*, they imitated readily enough; and his great reputation served to cover their faults. The earliest of them, however, still mindful of the maxims of a better age, did not rush into the same excesses as certain others: on the contrary, by the greater vivacity of their style, and its superior colouring, they acquitted themselves better than the mannerists of the Florentine and Roman schools. But to these there succeeded others, whose scholars went on deviating more and more from the methods of the old masters.

PALMA GIOVANE.

Jacopo Palma the younger, so styled to distinguish him from his great-uncle, may, with equal propriety, be called the last painter of the golden age, and the first of the degenerate one. Born in 1544, and initiated in the rudiments of the art by Antonio his father, a painter of little merit, he proceeded to exercise himself in copying the works of Titian and the other more distinguished Venetians. When he had reached the age of fifteen, the Duke of Urbino took him under his protection, and carried him to his capital; and from thence he passed on to Rome, where he remained eight years. By this means he grounded himself thoroughly in his profession, designing the remains of antiquity, copying the works of Michael Angelo and Raphael,

and, above all, studying the chiaroscuros of Polidoro. This latter was his chosen model; next to him, his favourite was Tintoretto; for nature had pre-disposed him to impart to his figures the lightness and vivacity visible in theirs. Returning to Venice, he brought himself into notice by some works which he executed with care; and there are some professors who have lavished on these the highest encomiums, discovering in them the better maxims both of the Roman and Venetian schools. All his works are executed with a certain facility, which constitutes the distinguishing talent of this artist; but a talent no less dangerous in painting than in poetry. Notwithstanding his efforts to bring himself into vogue, he was but little employed: the post was already occupied by those consummate masters, Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese; and on them all the more lucrative orders devolved. Palma found means to introduce himself as a third, having by his obsequiousness gained over to his interest Vittoria, at that time in high repute, both as an architect and sculptor, and the arbiter even of those works on which painters themselves were employed. This Vittoria, chagrined at the little deference shewn him by Tintoretto and Paolo, began to patronize Palma, and even to assist him with his advice; and thus brought him into notice.

No great while, however, elapsed, before Palma, now overwhelmed with orders, began to remit much of his former diligence. In process of time he became still more remiss, when, his more aged competitors being now no more, and he himself freed from rivalry, he began to hold undisputed sway, and to despatch his works in a more hurried manner. His pictures might not unfrequently be called mere daubs. To induce him to execute a picture worthy of his reputation, it became necessary to give him whatever time he thought proper to require, and to pay him a price, not measured by the opinion entertained of his merits by others, but by his own discretion; with which, to say the truth, he was by no means overstocked. It was thus that he painted for the noble family of Moro the beautiful pic-

ture of S. Benedetto in the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian: of the same stamp, indeed, he produced a good many others at Venice during his best days, and especially the celebrated naval battle of Francesco Bembo in the Palazzo Pubblico. Several highly esteemed performances of his are to be met with elsewhere, some of them noticed by Ridolfi, and others that were unknown to him; as the S. Apollonia at Cremona, the S. Ubaldo and the Nunziata at Pesaro, and the Discovery of the Cross at Urbino—a picture crowded with figures, and possessing great beauty, variety, and expression. His colours are fresh, soft, and transparent, not so gay as those of Paolo, but gayer than those of Tintoretto; and though laid on somewhat sparingly, yet they wear better than those of certain foreign pictures that are laid on thicker. In the art of animating his figures he approximates to the method of those two artists, at least in some of his more studied works; such as the Plague of Serpents, at S. Bartolommeo, a picture full of horror. In every branch of the profession he has always the art to please; and it is astonishing that the man who led the way to a degenerate style at Venice, as Vasari is said to have done at Florence, and the Zuccari at Rome, should still have retained so many of the attractions, both of nature and art, to delight the eye and affect the heart of the spectator. Guercino and Guido justly appreciated the powers of his pencil, when, on observing a picture of his at the Capuchins at Bologna, they exclaimed—"What pity that such a master as this should ever have died*!"

* Among Palma's followers was Marco Boschini, who has furnished memoirs of certain artists of this third epoch, not to be met with in any other work. During this same epoch also flourished—Carlo Ridolfi, who wrote the "Lives of the Venetian Painters"—Pietro Vecchia—Gian Carlo Loth—Alessandro Veronese—Pietro Liberi—Alessandro Turchi—and Enea Salmeggia, styled il Talpino.

Of the Lombard Schools.

On contemplating the principles and the progress of the art of painting in the Lombard states, I have arrived at this conclusion, that its history, as regards those states, ought to be handled in a way wholly different from that of other schools. The histories of the Florentine, Roman, Venetian, and Bolognese schools, may in some sort be looked upon as so many dramas, where the acts and the scenes are constantly shifting—such, in fact, being the different epochs into which each school is divided; and where fresh actors also are continually appearing upon the stage—for such are the masters comprised under each successive period: but the unity of place (the capital in each instance) is invariably preserved; and the principal actors, and, as it were, leading characters of the piece, always continue, if not to play a part, at least to hold out an example. With regard to the history of painting in Lombardy the case is otherwise; for Lombardy, which, in the infancy of the art, was split into many more independent states than it is at present, had in each of those states a school distinct from all the rest; and reckoned also distinct epochs; and if one of these schools may chance to have had some influence upon the style of another, this did not happen either so generally, or so immediately, as that many of them may be referred to the same epoch. Hence, I have been induced to renounce the common mode of expression—that of speaking of the Lombard school as if it were only one single school, and might be likened to that of Venice, for example, which, throughout the whole of the Venetian states, regarded as its greatest luminaries, first the Bellini, next Titian, and his more distinguished contemporaries, then Palma; and which, moreover, adopted certain peculiarities in design, colouring, composition, and pencilling, by

which it is easily distinguished from every other school. But in the Lombard school, as it is called, the case is different. Those founders of different schools, Leonardo, Giulio Romano, the Campi, Coreggio, are too dissimilar to be referred to one common standard, or to one single epoch. I am aware, that, as Coreggio was a native of Lombardy, and the inventor of a new style, which served as a model to great numbers in that part of Italy, the phrase Lombard school has been applied to those who adopted his maxims; and that the full contour, the jocund countenance, the rich and lucid colouring, the frequent foreshortening, and, above all, the studied chiaroscuro, have been defined to be the characteristics of this school. But if we thus circumscribe the limits of the Lombard school, where shall we find room for the Mantuan artists, or for those of Milan and Cremona, and many more, who, having been born in Lombardy, and spent their lives there, and having moreover initiated numbers in the art, are also entitled to a place among the Lombard painters?

For these reasons I have thought it best to treat of each school separately, and more or less diffusely, according as the number of artists it produced, and the details we have concerning them, may seem to require.

Mantuan School.

EPOCH I.

MANTEGNA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

I BEGIN with the Mantuan school, from which the two twin schools of Modena and Parma took their rise. As regards the art of painting, properly so called, I know of no artist who flourished at Mantua previous to Mantegna: all I can do, therefore, is to notice one or two anonymous works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that have been preserved to our days. As regards the former of those two centuries, I saw in the cloister of S. Francesco, a monument erected in 1303, above which was a Madonna surrounded by several Angels, figures of a rude and uncouth character, but exhibiting such strength and liveliness of colouring as could not fail to excite my surprise: nor have I any hesitation in referring to this monument as a proof that, in Lombardy, the restoration of painting had been effected by the unassisted efforts of its own inhabitants; inasmuch as this picture is of a date anterior to those of the *Giotteschi* scattered through Italy, and is also in a different style. In like manner, over an altar at S. Francesco, I saw another Madonna of the fifteenth century: whoever may have been its author, it proves that the art had already advanced beyond its infancy; although it had not yet reached that improved state to which it was carried by the celebrated Andrea Mantegna.

Mantegna.—Though the glory of having given birth to Mantegna can no longer be disputed with Padua, as was formerly the case, yet the seat of his school was Mantua, where, under the auspices of the Marquis, Lewis Gonzaga, he took up his abode with his family; though still without desisting from work-

ing at other places, especially at Rome. The works which he executed for Innocent VIII., in one of the chapels of the Vatican, are still in being; and it is notorious, that, in imitating the remains of antiquity, a point at which he constantly aimed, he acquired greater correctness in that city, owing to the multiplicity of ancient specimens with which it supplied him. He never deviated from the manner which I have already described on occasion of mentioning him at Padua as the scholar of Squarcione*, but went on continually improving upon it. There still exist at Mantua some of the works of his latter years, and among these the picture of Victory, painted on canvass, is the most distinguished. The Virgin, accompanied by various Saints—among whom may be seen the Archangel Michael and St. Maurice in the act of supporting her robe—receives beneath it Francis Gonzaga, who is there represented in a kneeling posture, while she holds out her hand over him in token of taking him under her protection. Somewhat in the background may be observed St. Andrew and St. Longinus, the two patron saints of the city, and, before the throne, the infant St. John, together with S. Anna; at least, as Vasari and Ridolfi, who have not been over correct in their description of this picture, imagined; for the rosary which she holds in her hand makes us at once recognise in her the Princess-consort of the Marquis of Mantua, kneeling there with her husband. Mantua has not, perhaps, another painting so much visited and so much admired by foreigners as this. Executed in 1495, it has sustained scarcely any injury during the three centuries that have elapsed since its

* Lanzi's description of the style here alluded to is as follows:—"Mantegna tutto era in ricercare la castigatezza de' contorni, la belta delle idee e de' corpi; ne solo adottava quella strettezza di vesti, quelle pieghe parallele, e quella diligenza di parti che degenera facilmente in secchezza; ma trascurava quella parte che anima le morte immagini, e cui diciamo espressione."

completion. It is truly wonderful to observe the delicacy of the fleshes, the brightness of the armour, the diversified appearance of the drapery, and the dewy freshness of the fruits that have been introduced by way of ornament. Every head may serve as a model for vivacity and strength of character, and some of them even for the exact imitation they display of the antique: the design, both as regards the parts of the figure exposed to view and the drapery, exhibits in every part a softness and fulness which completely confutes the commonly received opinion, that the style of Mantegna and the dry style are one and the same thing. There is, moreover, a strength and richness of colouring, a delicacy of finish, and a gracefulness so peculiar, that to me it seems the last step in the art towards the perfection attained to by Da Vinci.

Nevertheless, his master-piece, according to Vasari's opinion, was his Cæsar's Triumph, consisting of divers pieces, which, having been seized by the Germans during the sack of the city, in the end found their way into England. These works of Andrea's having perished, there still exist other considerable remains of his in one of the saloons of the castle, styled by Ridolfi, the "Camera degli Sposi." We there meet with copious compositions in fresco; and among them portraits of certain of the Gonzaga family, still in good preservation, together with a few Genii over one of the doors, to the last degree sprightly, aërial, and jocund. In the different collections his works are more rarely to be met with than is usually imagined: genuine pictures of his may be recognised, not only by their elegance, the straightness of the folds of the drapery, or the yellowish cast of the landscape, sprinkled here and there with certain small and shapely pieces of rock; but also by the skilfulness of the design, and the delicacy of the pencilling. Nor do I think that he could have executed many cabinet pictures, taken up as he was with painting on a larger scale, as well as with a multiplicity of engravings.

Andrea had no little influence upon the style of that age; and imitations of his manner are to be met with even beyond the limits of his school, which at Mantua was in very high repute. Francesco and another of his sons are reckoned among the best of his scholars. There is a writing of theirs extant, in which they engage to complete the works in the above-mentioned apartment at the castle, of which Andrea had painted only the walls. They there contributed the beautiful paintings on the ceiling. Whoever examines them must acknowledge that the art *del sotto in su*—the art of foreshortening objects on ceilings—of which the invention is usually ascribed to Melozio, was improved upon and almost brought to perfection by Mantegna and his sons*.

* The other followers of Mantegna were—Carlo del Mantegna, Gianfrancesco and Giovanni Carotto, and Francesco and Girolamo Monsignori.

Mantuan School.

EPOCH II.

GIULIO ROMANO AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

THE school of the *Mantegneschi* having become extinct at Mantua, another, more beautiful and more celebrated, started up in its stead—one that might move the envy of Rome itself. Francis Gonzaga was succeeded in the dukedom by Frederick, a Prince endowed with an elevation of mind and a passion for the fine arts, such that no artists of moderate talent could have carried his ideas into execution. By means of Baldassar Castiglione, previously an intimate friend of Raphael's, Giulio Romano was engaged to repair to Mantua, in the double character of engineer and painter to the Duke. The former of these employments occupied more of his time than the latter. The city, which had been damaged by the overflowing of the Mincio; the houses, which were insecure or ill-contrived; the style of architecture, which accorded but little with the dignity of a capital; continually supplied him with fresh matter on which to exercise his talents, and thus render himself in some sort a new founder of Mantua; insomuch that the Duke, in a transport of gratitude, was led to exclaim, that Giulio might more justly be called master of the city than he himself.

In the Roman school we treated of Giulio as the scholar and heir of Raphael, as well as the person on whom devolved the completion of his works: here he is destined to figure as a master, who, both in his own performances and his instructions to others, pursues the method adopted by the great founder of his school. On his arrival in Mantua, he found there a rich store of the remains of antiquity, which afterwards went on continually

increasing; and of which, the statues, busts, and bas-reliefs, now preserved in the academy, constitute but a small remnant. To these materials, collected by the Gonsaghi, he added a stock of his own. He was exceedingly rich in designs, copied not only from the remains of antiquity at Rome, but also from the works of Raphael, Nor did his own studies form a contemptible resource; there having been, as regards design, no one who succeeded better in combining fertility of fancy with choice, rapidity of execution with correctness, a thorough knowledge of mythology and history with a certain popular and familiar manner of handling them. After the death of his master he began to follow more freely the natural bent of his genius, which inclined him less to the graceful than the bold; leading him, in the execution of his works, to trust rather to the dexterity he had acquired by many years' practice, than to consult nature for their truth. To him, therefore, it was nothing more than mere play to bring the Ducal palace at Mantua, and the magnificent villa of the T.—to say nothing of his many other works—to that high state of embellishment described by Vasari, and of which there still exist considerable remains. That multiplicity of chambers, with their gilded roofs; that infinity of beautiful stuccos, from which so many casts have been taken for the instruction of tyros; that astonishing number of historical and fancy pieces, so well imagined and so well accommodated to each other; that endless variety of ornaments, adapted to so many situations and subjects—all these form a complication of wonders, of which Giulio had the merit of being the sole author; for these vast works were all conceived, carried on, and completed by Giulio alone.

His practice was to prepare the cartoons himself, and then to give them to his scholars to execute, taking care afterwards to retouch the whole work with his own hand; thus correcting its defects, and imprinting upon every part of it the stamp of his own elevated genius. It was Giulio's misfortune that his own

touches at the palace of the T. were afterwards daubed over by the restorer's hand; whence the delightful fable of Psyche, the moral representations of human life, and that terrific Battle of the Giants with Jupiter, where he appears to defy Michael Angelo in robustness of manner, present us still with the composition and design, but not the pencilling, of Giulio. This we may better recognise at the Ducal palace, in his War of Troy, his Story of Lucretia, and the little cabinets that he embellished with grotesques and the most ingenious fancy-pieces. There he might at one time be styled a Homer treating of warlike feats; at another, an Anacreon depicting scenes of debauchery and love. Nor was it a small portion of his time that he devoted to sacred subjects, especially for the cathedral, which under the direction of the Duke's brother, Cardinal Gonzaga, he not only built, but also partly contributed to embellish; I say partly, for death prevented him from witnessing the completion of that admirable work. The pictures that he executed for other churches, with his own hand and without assistance, are not numerous: the three historical pieces on the subject of the Passion, painted in fresco at St. Mark's, are particularly pointed out as belonging to this class; as is also the St. Christopher over the large altar of the church of the same name, where he is represented as a man of great strength, and yet groaning under the weight of the Saviour of the world, whom he bears in the likeness of an infant upon his shoulders—a legendary story originating in the name of Christopher. Giulio's followers at Mantua did not, as was the case elsewhere, mix up that master's method with those of other schools: on the contrary, they were most tenacious of their founder's style: insomuch, that, in almost every head, we may recognise the very same features as are most frequently found in his works; though their execution displays very different degrees of merit.

Modenese School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

THE origin of this school might be deduced from the year 1235, if it were as certain that Berlingeri reared up pupils in the state of Modena, as it is that in the town of Guiglia there is a St. Francis painted by him and bearing the date of the aforesaid year; but this may admit of a doubt. There is also another sacred piece referable to a Modenese painter—a picture of the Virgin between two military Saints—which has been removed from Prague to the Imperial Gallery at Vienna: on it is inscribed, in old characters, the two following lines:—

Quis opus hoc finxit? Thomas de Mutina pinxit
Quale vides Lector Rarisini filius auctor.

Tell me, to whose invention this—
If, haply, thou should'st chance to know it?
To Modena's expert Tommaso's,
Rarisinus' rare son, we owe it.

After this picture of Tommaso's we must not omit to notice—a painting by Barnaba da Modena, preserved at Alba, bearing the name of the author and the date 1377; a work which has by one writer been preferred to those of Giotto—and an *ancona*, as the term is, by Serafino de' Serafini da Modena, containing various busts and full-lengths, and also bearing the name of the painter, and the date 1385. This latter is in the cathedral of Modena; and the principal subject is the Coronation of the Virgin. The composition is very similar to that observable in the works of Giotto and his school; to which in-

deed the general style of the picture approaches nearer than to that of any other school; save that the figures are stouter, and, if we may so say, better fed than those of the Florentines*.

..... There was one advantage which Modena more especially enjoyed, even as early as the fifteenth century, and that was the possession of abundance of excellent modellers. In this art, which may be called the mother of sculpture and the nurse of painting, Modena has since produced the happiest specimens in the world; and this, if I mistake not, is the peculiar, the characteristic, and the highest distinction of the school. Vasari has bestowed the warmest encomiums on Guido Mazzoni, otherwise styled Paganini, who, as early as the year 1484, distinguished himself by a Holy Family at S. Margherita—statues exhibiting an astonishing degree of vivacity and expression. The chronicler, Lancillotto, also confers high praise on his contemporary Giovanni Abate, (the father of Niccolò Abate,) whose chalk models of sacred subjects were held in the greatest esteem; especially his Crucifixions, where every vein and every nerve was given with the most scrupulous regard to anatomy. He, however, was far surpassed by Antonio Begarelli, probably his scholar, who, by means of his models, consisting of figures as large as life, and even larger, has almost borne away the palm from every other competitor. The Benedictine Fathers possess a great many of them both in their church and monastery. He lived to a great age, and filled the churches of Modena with monuments, cratches, groups, and isolated statues; to say nothing of what he executed at Parma, Mantua, and other places. Vasari eulogizes him for the "fine air of his heads, the beauty of his draperies, the exquisite proportion of his figures and the exactness with which he imitated the colour of marble;" relating that

* Lanzi here proceeds to record the names of a number of artists down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but none of them of any note.

even Bonarruoti "looked upon these works as possessing great merit;" and exclaimed—"Could this clay but be converted into marble, then woe to the statues of antiquity!" I know not what higher encomium can be produced in favour of any artist; especially when I reflect how profound a connoisseur Bonarruoti was, and how little prodigal of praise. Finally, we ought to add, that Begarelli was eminently skilled in design, and that he instructed the rising generation in that branch of art as well as in modelling. Hence he had great influence on the art of painting; and to him, in great measure, is attributed the correctness, the relief, the skilful foreshortening, and the gracefulness, (bordering almost on Raphael's,) for which this part of Lombardy is distinguished.

Modenese School.

EPOCH II.

DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, RAPHAEL AND COREGGIO ARE THE MODELS LOOKED UP TO BY THIS SCHOOL.

No city of Lombardy became familiar with Raphael's style earlier than Modena, nor did any city of Italy become more deeply enamoured of that style, or produce successful imitators of it in greater number.

Pellegrino da Modena, denominated, in Lancillotti's chronicle, degli Aretusi, otherwise de' Munari, had acquired the rudiments of art in his native place, and, as early as the year 1509, had executed there the picture that is now to be seen in S. Giovanni's, and in the highest state of preservation—a sufficient evidence of the great attainments of its author, even previous to his entering Raphael's school. Such, however, was the progress he made in that school, that his master availed himself of his assistance even in the *Loggie* of the Vatican itself; while he also carried on other works at Rome, at one time in conjunction with Perino del Vaga, at another without any assistance. In some of these works of his at S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, there were figures exhibiting the utmost gracefulness of manner, and almost bordering on Raphael's style, according to Titi's account, who deplores the injudicious restoration of them. His merit, however, cannot so well be judged of at Rome as at his native place, especially in the church of S. Paolo, where there is a Nativity that breathes throughout the grace of Raphael. This unfortunate man had a son, whom, in consequence of a murder he had committed, the relatives of the deceased eagerly sought after, with intent to lay violent hands on him; but falling in with

the father, they wreaked their vengeance upon him, and put him to death: this tragical event occurred in the year 1523. Pellegrino's instructions were of no small benefit to Giulio Taraschi, some of whose pictures still exist in St. Peter's at Modena, executed in the style of the Roman school; a style which he is said to have transmitted to two brothers of his, as well as to others.

Somewhat subsequent to this, Coreggio began to be looked up to as a model in the Modenese school, where he now passes for its brightest ornament. This master painted a great many works at Parma, and under the head of the Parmesan school we shall have to take especial notice of him: but he also wrought at Modena, Reggio, Carpi, and Coreggio. Thus he began betimes to produce a visible influence on the Modenese school, and to be looked up to there as a master whose manner might be followed with advantage, either by emulating it in all its parts, or by combining it with that of Raphael.

This was more especially the case, when, Coreggio being now no more, his reputation began to increase; and when all the best works that he had left in the capital and the neighbouring cities were gradually brought together by the Dukes of the house of Este and deposited in their gallery, where they remained till near the middle of the present (eighteenth century*). At that time Modena was frequented by painters of every nation, who went thither to copy those divine originals, and observe the art with which they were executed: nor did the Modenese themselves neglect to profit by them; vestiges of Coreggio's style being discoverable in the works of almost every one of those artists. Nevertheless, when speaking of the older masters, we must acknowledge them to evince a more decided bent and predilection for Raphael and the Roman style; whether it be that

* Francis III. sold to the court of Dresden a hundred pictures—among which were five *Coreggios*—for a hundred-and-thirty thousand Venetian zequins.

we usually set a higher value upon the merits of strangers, than upon those of our own countrymen; or that none but Pellegrino's followers continued for any great length of time to afford instruction to the rising generation, and to maintain their credit in those parts.

NICCOLO DELL' ABATE.

LET us now turn to Niccolò dell' Abate, whom we must notice somewhat more fully, as befits the dignity of a painter esteemed by Algarotti as "one of the greatest masters the world has ever seen." Some have imagined that he received the rudiments of art from Coreggio, a point which cannot altogether be denied, were it only on account of certain of his foreshortenings and the bold relief of his pictures. Vasari, however, says not a word of his having derived instruction from that source; merely observing, on occasion of mentioning the Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul painted by him for the Black Friars, that the figure of one of the executioners is taken from a picture of Coreggio's placed in the church of S. Giovanni at Parma. But whoever may have been Niccolino's master, in his frescos at Modena, which are reckoned among his earliest performances, he discovers an evident predilection for the Roman school. The same observation applies to those twelve frescos of his from the twelve books of the Æneid, which, having been severed from the wall on which they were painted in the fortress of Candiano, now adorn the Ducal gallery; and might alone suffice to establish his reputation for figures, landscapes, architectural ornaments, animals, every attainment, in short, meet for an accomplished follower of Raphael. On arriving at man's estate, having proceeded to Bologna, where he took up his abode, he painted, under the portico de' Leoni, a Nativity, in a style such that, neither in those of Raffaellino del Borgo, nor those of any other

artist, though educated at Rome, have I been able to discover so strong a resemblance to Raphael's manner as in this. I am aware, too, that a distinguished artist used to call it the best fresco in all Bologna. It was the delight and the model of the Caracci, no less than the other works that Niccolino left in that city. Among these the most admired by foreigners is that *Conversazione* which serves as a frieze to the Sala of the Institute. Next to Raphael, this artist did not refuse to imitate others also. There is a well-known sonnet* of Agostino Caracci's, which many a painter has got by heart, where the author professes to have found combined in Niccolino alone the symmetry of Raphael, the terrible of M. Angelo, Titian's truth, Coreggio's elevation, the composition of Tibaldi, and the grace of Parmigianino: in a word, the best of every artist and of every school. The opinion here expressed—though the lines must be taken as the effusion of a poet, and that poet a passionate admirer of one who did honour to his school—would find more supporters, were Niccolino's works more frequently to be seen in the different collections. They are, however, very rarely to be met with, both because he almost always wrought in fresco, and because at the age of forty he passed over into France.

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* Chi farsi un buon pittor brama e desia,
Il disegno di Roma abbia alla mano;
La mossa coll' ombrar Veneziano,
E il degno colorir di Lombardia;
Di Michelangiol la terribil via,
Il vero natural di Tiziano,
Di Coreggio lo stil puro e sovrano,
E di un Raffael la vera simmetria;
Del Tibaldi il decoro e il fondamento,
Del dotto Primaticcio l'inventare,
E un po' di grazia del Parmigianino:
Ma senza tanti studi e tanto stento,
Si ponga solo l'opre ad imitare
Che qui lasciocci il nostro Niccolino.

Thither he had been invited by the Abate Primaticcio to assist him in the great works he was then executing for Charles IX., nor did he ever set eyes on Italy again. Hence arose the story that he was Primaticcio's scholar, and that he was therefore called l'Abate; whereas he derived that epithet from his own family. The historical pieces, eight-and-thirty in number, relative to Ulysses, painted by Niccolò from Primaticcio's designs, and forming the most extensive of all the many works he executed in France, were still in being at Fontainbleau about the year 1740: these works, according to Algarotti, were subsequently defaced, but they may still be seen in the engravings taken from them by Van-Tulden, the scholar of Rubens.

Lelio Orsi.—Shortly afterwards Lelio Orsi of Reggio began to come into repute: being banished from his native place, he repaired to Novellara—a town at that time under the sway of the Gonzaghi—and there took up his abode; whence he is commonly styled Lelio da Novellara. Whether this distinguished painter were a disciple of Coreggio's or not, is a matter of doubt; some biographers affirming it, others denying it. From the time and place at which he lived, he may well have been acquainted with him; moreover he studied, and took designs from his works; and there is still in the possession of the noble family of Gazzola at Verona, a copy by him of Coreggio's celebrated *Night*. Nor are there wanting those who affirm that Lelio left specimens of his art at Parma, where the brightest ornaments of the school have employed their pencil. Various apocryphal tales have been, and still are, current concerning him; as, that he was the scholar of M. Angelo; that Coreggio used to correspond with him, and even consult him on the subject of design. True, indeed, it is, that his design is of an ingenious, studied, and bold character; whether this arose from his having been at Rome, as Tiraboschi, on the faith of a certain manuscript, contended; or that he acquired this style from Giulio Romano at Mantua; or that he had seen M. Angelo's models and designs;—great minds

requiring nothing more than a knowledge of the right path to enable them to pursue it with success. His design is evidently not in the Lombard style; and hence arises the great difficulty in the way of our supposing him to be a scholar of Coreggio's; for had such been the case, his earlier works at least would not have displayed so bold a character. Nevertheless, none have surpassed him in imitating Coreggio, whether in gracefulness of chiaroscuro, the thick-laying on of his colours, or the beauty and charms of some of his youthful heads. Reggio, and more especially Novellara, possessed a good many frescos of his, which have now in great part perished. But few of his altar-pieces remain in public in those two cities; the rest having been removed. Others that pass for his at Parma, Ancona, and Mantua, are by no means well authenticated; and there is every reason to suppose that Lelio, having spent his days at Reggio and Novellara, never removed from them either very far or for any great length of time, and thus continued to be less known than many painters of a lower grade.

Modenese School.

EPOCH III.

THE MODENESE PAINTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FOLLOW FOR THE MOST PART THOSE OF BOLOGNA.

During the seventeenth century, Modena and its dependencies had not wholly abandoned the style introduced by Munari, or that introduced by Coreggio and Lelio; having still had to boast of some disciples and followers of those masters: those styles, however, became less prevalent in proportion as the *Caraccheschi* began to gain ground and to influence by their example the other schools of Italy. We know that some of the Modenese painters frequented their schools; and Bartolommeo Schedone is by Malvasia reckoned among the disciples of the Caracci.

SCHEDONE.

Supposing Malvasia to be correct in thus referring Schedone to the school of the Caracci, we must either come to the conclusion that his earlier performances are unknown, or that he had scarcely crossed the threshold of that school: whence, even in those larger works that are pointed out as his, it is rare that we can discover any vestiges of the style of the Caracci. It would seem rather that he took for his models those of his countrymen who imitated Raphael, but that the model he looked up to most of all was Coreggio, of whose originals there were so many to be found at Modena. His frescos, executed at the Palazzo Pubblico in competition with Ercole Abati about the year 1604,

are still in being: among them is the beautiful story of Coriolanus and the Seven Women, intended as a personification of Concord: whoever takes the trouble to examine them will find them to combine the two characters above mentioned. There is, moreover, at the cathedral, a half-length figure of S. Geminiano with an Infant that he has just restored to life, who is taking hold of his crook, and, as it were, expressing his gratitude: it is one of his happiest performances, and might almost pass for a work of Coreggio's. This successful imitation of Coreggio's style afforded matter of commendation, even at that time in other pictures of his despatched to different places; and Marini speaks of it in one of his letters as altogether wonderful. Scannelli, who wrote about forty years after the death of Schedone, joins in this panegyric; though, to render the imitation complete, he could have wished it had been founded more on experience and principle; where I suspect he refers to the design and the perspective, in which Schedone sometimes falls into error. For the rest, his figures display much gracefulness of character and of action; and his colouring, as regards his frescos, is of the gayest and most lively kind; in his oil paintings it is of a more sober cast, though more perfectly blended, and not always exempt from those faults occasioned by the defective nature of the grounds employed in the age of the Caracci. His larger pictures, such as the Pietà now in the Academy of Parma, are exceedingly scarce: his historical pieces, such as, at Loreto, the Nativity of Christ and that of the Virgin, placed as accompaniments to a painting of Filippo Bellini's, are also very rarely to be seen. Holy Families of his, and similar small pictures on sacred subjects, are now and then to be met with, but not in any great number, and are very highly prized; insomuch that, according to Tiraboschi, for one of them was asked no less a sum than four thousand crowns. The collection of the King of Naples possesses several of them, that collection having been enriched, not only with the other pictures belonging to the Farnese family,

but with those also which Schedone, while in the service of the Duke Ranuccio, the most liberal of his patrons, had painted for that family. This artist neither lived to any great age, nor produced any great number of works, being diverted from his studies by the love of play; by indulging which unfortunate propensity, having lost a large sum of money, he died of grief towards the close of the year 1615*.

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* The other more distinguished artists of this epoch were, Camillo Gavasetti, Lodovico Lana, and Giovanni Puzzuoli.

Parmesan School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

NEXT after the school of Modena I place that of Parma, and the neighbouring territory; and willingly would I join them together as others have done, if, together with difference of government, I did not also find a difference of manner; it being my opinion, as I have already stated, that Raphael's style predominated in the former, Coreggio's in the latter. Coreggio is the founder of the Parmesan school, where, for several generations, he has had a succession of followers so addicted to his manner, that they would seem to have looked to no one else. In what condition he found the art on his arrival at Parma may be inferred from those old pictures scattered through the city, which assuredly do not display a degree of progress equal to that of some others of the Italian schools. Not that Parma was not quickly alive to the art of design. As early as the twelfth century there flourished in that city one Benedetto Antelani, of whom there still remains in the cathedral a bas-relief representing the Crucifixion of our Saviour: it is the production of a rude age; but from that period down to the time of Giovanni Pisano, I doubt whether I have ever met with any piece of sculpture to equal it. With regard to painting itself, the illustrious P. Affò has brought to light particulars of the most interesting character, from published and unpublished records, in order to prove that both single figures and historical pieces were executed at Parma previous to the year 1233. On the completion of the baptistry in 1260, that collection of paintings was executed there, which, as far as regards the old style, may now-a-days be looked upon as one of

the finest monuments to be met with in Upper Italy. The subjects are such as were most in vogue at the time: the style is less angular and rectilinear than that of the Greek workers in mosaic; and evinces some degree of originality in the drapery, the decoration, and the composition: above all, it displays a rare degree of skill in the mechanical execution of the gilding and the colouring, which, in spite of the lapse of five centuries, is still in very tolerable preservation.

On coming down to more recent times, we find, in many places, both at Placentia and Parma, no lack of pictures executed by painters of the thirteenth century, sometimes with dates on which we can rely, sometimes without. Those of Placentia are in the church and convent of the *Predicatori:* but the best preserved is an altar-piece at St. Anthony's the Martyr, with historical pieces relative to that Saint, in figures of a diminutive size, very tolerably executed, and with drapery of such a character, that in these figures we behold the usages which were, if we may so say, municipal and peculiar to the place. Parma possesses some of the same age: and certain others still in being at the church of St. Francis, in a somewhat more refined style, must be referred to Bartolommeo Grossi, or Jacopo Loschi, his son-in-law, who painted there in 1462*.

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* Lanzi here records a few others of the earlier artists of this school, but none of any note; among them one Marmita, the supposed master of Parmigianino.

Parmesan School.

EPOCH II.

ANTONIO ALLEGRI, COMMONLY CALLED COREGGIO.

We come now to an artist, whom, in consideration of his great celebrity and the influence his works had, and still have, over the style of painting in Italy, it is impossible to dismiss with our usual brevity.

Scannelli, Orlandi, and others, have censured Vasari for exaggerating the lowliness of Antonio's station in life, who, in fact, was born in an illustrious city of a very respectable family, and not wholly destitute of fortune; whence he received in his boyhood an education sufficient to account for his future progress. They have also reproached him with excessive credulity, for describing Coreggio as of a miserly and melancholy temperament, and groaning, as it were, under the weight of a large family; for describing him, too, as having been very little in request, and badly paid; whereas, say they, we know that he was in favour with the great, and rewarded with considerable sums for his works; insomuch that he was enabled to leave a handsome fortune to his family. Now, though I recognise something of exaggeration in Vasari's statements, yet I cannot think them altogether unfounded: and whoever will take the trouble to compare the orders and the gains of Coreggio with those of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, and even Vasari himself, will no longer wonder that that biographer should have shewn signs of commiserating his hard fortune. The largest payments made to Coreggio have been ascertained. For the cupola and the larger nave of the church of S. Giovanni, he received four hundred and seventy-two gold ducats or Venetian zechins, and

for the cupola of the cathedral, three hundred and fifty—considerable sums certainly; but as he was occupied from the year 1520 to 1530, on the sketches and execution of these great works, he could undertake but few others, and those not of a very lucrative kind. His celebrated *Night* brought him forty gold ducats; his St. Jerome, on which he spent six months, brought him, besides his subsistence for those six months, forty-seven ducats or zechins; and after the same proportion we may calculate the time he spent upon his other smaller works, and the prices he received for them. Something more he may have received for the two pictures he painted for the Duke of Modena; but these were the only works he ever executed for a sovereign prince. All this being considered, it seems incredible that, after deducting what he must have spent upon colours, models, assistants, and the maintenance of his family, he could still have had so much left, as to be able to leave that family in a state of affluence.

For my part, even though I were to admit the truth of all that has been said of the poverty of this great man, so far from thinking it a disgrace to him, I should think it did him honour, when I reflect that, notwithstanding all this penury, he painted with a prodigality of manner of which there is no other example. Every picture of his is executed either on copper, panel, or canvass, of the finest kind, with a profusion of ultramarine, lake-colour, and the most beautiful greens; with a full well-fed pencil, and the utmost carefulness of finishing; and, for the most part, without his having ever desisted from the work till he had fully completed it: in a word, without any of that stint, either of expense or time, with which almost every other artist is chargeable. Generosity like this might do honour to a wealthy individual who painted merely for his own amusement; how much more commendable then is it in one whose means were so limited! To my mind, it shews a degree of magnanimity worthy of a genuine Spartan.

There is a tradition at Coreggio, that Antonio received the first rudiments of art from his uncle Lorenzo; after which, if we may depend upon the account transmitted by Vedriani, he went to Modena, where he frequented the school of Francesco Bianchi, called Il Frari, who died in 1510. It would seem, too, that he there made himself acquainted with the plastic art, which at that time happened to be in high repute at Modena; whence, in conjunction with Begarelli, he afterwards executed the group of the Pietà at S. Margherita, of which the three most beautiful figures are ascribed to Coreggio. In the same seat of learning, too, I suspect it was that he laid the foundation of those accomplishments discoverable in his works, where we may trace a competent knowledge of geometry in his perspectives, of architecture in his edifices, and of poetry in his gay and charming imagery. After this, his biographers, judging from certain works in his earlier style, will have it that he went to Mantua, to the academy of Andrea Mantegna; but the recent discovery that Andrea died in 1506, overthrows this supposition. To me, however, it appears highly probable that he derived that first manner from the works Mantegna left at Mantua; and in support of this opinion I here adduce a few arguments. The most remarkable of all Mantegna's performances was his picture of Victory; of this various imitations are to be found in the works of Coreggio, the most palpable of which may be observed in the S. Giorgio of Dresden. That exquisite taste which Coreggio invariably displays in his canvass, in the thick laying on of his colours, and the high finish of his pictures, excites our astonishment, and seems inexplicable: there is, however, no longer any thing mysterious in the matter, if we suppose him to have taken Andrea for his model, who surpassed every other artist in these particulars. Let us, moreover, take into account the grace and hilarity which Coreggio imparted to his compositions, investing them with a sort of rainbow-like colouring, characterizing them by a certain studied introduction

of every species of foreshortening, embellishing them with infantine figures remarkable for their vivacity, as well as with fruits and other pleasing objects; and I should then like to know whether this new style of his may not be considered as truly an improvement and a perfecting of Mantegna's style, as Raphael's and Titian's pictures may of those of Perugino and Gio. Bellini.

As to his having received instruction from Mantegna himself, the prevailing opinion in Lombardy now is, that Vedriani was mistaken, having been led into error by the name; and that he called Andrea the master of Coreggio, whereas he ought to have said it was Francesco, his son, with whom it is recorded Allegri resided some time, either as a pupil or an assistant. This school had made great advances, and had even forestalled Melozio, and produced some tolerable specimens in that species of foreshortening called *di sotto in su:* there now remained but one step more to take in order to arrive at the modern style; and this step a man of Coreggio's genius would naturally make, just as the other great painters of that age did in the rest of the Italian schools. In fact, even in his very first essays, he seems to have aimed at a softer and fuller style than Mantegna's; and some, among whom is the Abate Bettinelli, have pointed out a few examples of this in Mantua. In that town I also saw, in the possession of the Abate Bettinelli, a small picture of a Holy Family, which was about to be engraved; and in which, with the exception of some little stiffness in the drapery, every part tends to the modern manner. The Ducal gallery at Modena contains another Madonna or two of Coreggio's, which may be referred to this period; while other works of his are pointed out in various places: among these there was at Milan, where it was seen and recognised for genuine by the Abate Carlo Bianconi, a small picture representing our Saviour taking leave of the Virgin Mother previous to his crucifixion. There must no doubt be many pictures of Coreggio's of inferior rank, and those scatter-

ed about here and there, and either such as are still unknown, or whose authenticity is disputed, Vasari having recorded of him that he produced a great many different works (molte pitture e opere).

How comes it, then, that in the published catalogues we find so small a number of pictures attributed to him, and those almost all of first-rate merit? Doubtless, because all that are not superlatively good are deemed unworthy of so celebrated a man, and are either confidently denied to be his, or considered to be of questionable authenticity, or else are ascribed to his scholars. Mengs himself, who made such diligent inquiries after the remains of this artist, and yet shewed so much caution in admitting any of his controverted works, knew of but one picture in his first style, and that was the St. Anthony of the Dresden gallery, which, together with the St. Francis and the Virgin, he painted at Carpi in the year 1512, when only eighteen years of age. From the dryness he remarked in this, and the richness and mellowness (pastosità) he generally found in his other paintings, Mengs conjectured that Coreggio's transition from his first to his second style must have been a sudden one, and set himself to discover the mysterious cause. He suspected, therefore, that there was some truth in that which, in opposition to the authority of Vasari, had been first asserted by De Piles in his Dissertations, as well as by Resta and one or two others—that Coreggio had visited Rome, and that, having there attentively observed the remains of antiquity, as well as the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and the foreshortenings of Melozio, he returned to Lombardy with a taste wholly different from that which he had carried with him to Rome.

That distinguished individual, however, did not hazard this conjecture without considerable hesitation; and not only permitted his reader to hold the contrary hypothesis, but even hinted at one of the arguments by which it might be defended; for thus he expresses himself:—" If he did not see the remains of anti-

quity such as they exist at Rome, he at least saw them as they existed at Modena or Parma: to a man of genius the mere indication of improvement in any given object is sufficient to give him an idea of what that object may be brought to." It will not be difficult to bring forward examples to corroborate this assertion. Titian and Tintoretto, by the help of casts, surpassed others who designed statues; Baroccio, having chanced to obtain a transient view of one of Coreggio's heads, became eminent in the very same style. And, if we may borrow from the sciences another example of the capabilities of transcendent genius, Galileo, by observing the oscillation of a lamp in one of the Pisan churches, deduced from it the theory of motion and the principles of the new philosophy. In the same manner, from certain faint indications of it, might the idea of a new style have been conceived by this consummate artist, who, even in Vasari's time, "was looked up to as something superhuman." Nor indeed was it a slight impulse, but a sufficiently powerful one, that he may well be supposed to have received from the finer works of Mantegna; from the remains of ancient art collected in Mantua and Parma; from the studios of the Mantegni and Begarelli, rich both in casts and designs; from intercourse with artists who had been at Rome, with Munari and Giulio himself; and, lastly, from the prevailing feeling of the age, which, dissatisfied with the meagreness of the older method, everywhere aimed at greater fulness, softness, and clearness of contour. By these various helps the improvement that still remained to be made was rendered sufficiently easy to a Coreggio; but in a still greater degree was it facilitated by his transcendent genius. This led him to contemplate nature with the same eye that the ancient Greeks and the great Italians of modern times had contemplated it. The greatest men have sometimes, even without any communication with each other, trod in the same steps, or, as Cicero expresses it, "Quâdam ingenii divinitate in eadem vestigia incurrerunt." But of this no more at present, as we shall have to treat of it

afresh a few pages hence. Here it remains for us to examine whether Coreggio's transition from the old to the new style was a sudden one, or whether it was a work of time.

I could have wished that Mengs had seen certain fresco paintings said to have been executed by Antonio in his earlier days for the Marchesa Gambara, a Coreggese lady, and which have since perished: these would doubtless have enabled him to throw some light on the subject. I could have wished, at any rate, that he had fallen in with two pictures executed by Antonio in his native place, and discovered within these few years: in these he would probably have detected that middle path which subsists between the St. Anthony and the St. George of Dresden. The genuineness of the first is called in question by Tiraboschi; there being no authentic document to assign it to Coreggio. For my part, I think we should admit it to be genuine until either weighty reasons, or the authority of practical professors, can be produced to the contrary. It was formerly in the oratory of the Miserecordia, and old copies of it are still preserved in several houses at Coreggio. It consists of a very beautiful landscape with four Saints, St. Peter, St. Margaret, the Magdalene, and another, whom I take to be St. Raymond, though not contemporary with the Apostles. The St. Peter bears some resemblance to that of Mantegna's, in his Ascension at St. Andrea's; while in the thicket also, and in the nature of the ground, we discover a remarkable conformity with Mantegna's manner. This picture having been blackened by the smoke of the tapers continually burning before it, or, as some suspect, by a varnish laid on for the express purpose of concealing its value and preventing it from being taken away, it was found necessary to remove it from the altar as useless, and in its stead to substitute a copy, in which the last figure is changed into a St. Ursula. The original subsequently fell into the hands of Sig. Antonio Armanno, one of the profoundest connoisseurs in engravings of the present day; and not less skilful

in appreciating the works of eminent painters than in the art of cleaning them. After the persevering labour of a year, he succeeded in removing from the picture the veil that concealed it; and so beautiful has it now become once more, that crowds of accomplished foreigners are continually flocking to admire it. It is said to exhibit greater softness (morbidezza) than the St. Anthony of the Dresden gallery; though it is still very inferior to the S. Giorgio and others of the same stamp.

About the same time Allegri painted at Coreggio, for the church of the Conventuali, an *ancona*, or sort of little wooden altar, consisting of three pictures. It seems certain, that the two pictures above mentioned opened the way to this employment; for, from the written agreement it appears, that he was then twenty years of age; and yet, such was the high opinion entertained of his merits, that the stipulated price was a hundred gold ducats, in other words, a hundred zechins. He there depicted St. Bartholomew and St. John, one on each side; while in the middle piece he represented a Repose of the Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt, adding to this last a figure of St. Francis. Francis I., Duke of Modena, was greatly taken with this picture; and, sending Boulanger thither under pretext of making a copy of it, he contrived to possess himself of the original; dexterously substituting the copy itself in its place—a wrong which he afterwards repaired by a grant to the convent of certain lands. It is supposed that the picture was afterwards sent to the Medicean family, and that the house of Este received from that family, in exchange, Andrea del Sarto's Sacrifice of Abraham. The fact is, that it was in the Royal gallery of Florence as early as the seventeenth century; and Barry, who saw it there, speaks of it with commendation in his pictorial tour as an original. In process of time, however, because it happened to be less perfect than the most perfect of Coreggio's works, it was less highly prized; nay, even its author's name was changed, and by some it was pointed out as a Baroccio, by others as

a Vanni. Sig. Armanno, whom we have just noticed, who happened to recollect the copy that remained at Coreggio, discovered this hidden treasure. At first its authenticity was disputed; chiefly on the ground that Allegri had painted it on panel, whereas the Medicean picture was on canvass. This objection, however, fell to the ground on comparing it with Boulanger's copy, which is also on canvass; for, most assuredly, had the original been on wood, the copyist could not have succeeded in palming upon the monks, in whose church it was placed, a canvass painting in its stead. The probability of its genuineness becomes greater when we reflect that no other gallery ever produced a similar Repose to dispute the originality with that of Florence, as has happened, and still happens, in the case of certain pictures repeated in different places. Indeed, we have sufficient proofs of its originality, in the traces it exhibits of Coreggio's pencilling, in the remains of a varnish peculiar to that artist, and in the general style of colouring as compared with his works at Parma. All, however, are agreed that this work may be considered as holding a middle place between his first and second styles; and whoever compares it with that other Repose in the church of S. Sepolcro at Parma, commonly called the Madonna della Scodella, will find considerable difference between them; just as he will find considerable difference between Raphael's paintings at Città di Castello and his paintings at Rome.

Mengs notices two other pictures that may be included in the same class; the one is the *Noli me tangere*, which was removed from the Casa Ercolani to the Escurial; the other is a picture of the Virgin in the act of adoring the Infant Saviour, and is in the Royal Gallery at Florence; both of them in a taste which he looked for in vain in Coreggio's more sublime and celebrated works. To these we may add the Marsyas, in the possession of the Litta family at Milan, and certain others of Coreggio's pictures noticed in Tiraboschi's catalogue, which is the fullest of

any extant. In short, it seems that we must admit, even in this painter, a middle style between the one which he adopted as a scholar, and the one which he carried to perfection as a master. I cannot but think there is much truth in a remark I once heard made:—that Coreggio essayed a variety of styles before he fixed upon that which characterizes him; and that this is the reason why he appears, to some, to be not merely one but several painters. He was possessed with an idea of the beautiful and the perfect, partly derived from other artists, partly the work of his own imagination; an idea which cannot possibly be matured without much time and labour: whence he was constrained to imitate the natural philosopher, who makes a hundred different experiments, and tries a hundred different schemes, before he hits upon the object he has in view.

In a transition thus gradual, and in the case of an artist who in each succeeding effort surpassed his previous performances, it is no easy task to fix the precise epoch of his new style. I once saw at Rome a very beautiful little picture, representing, in the background, the Seizing of Christ in the Garden, and, in the foreground, the Youth who in his flight leaves his mantle behind him; a work, the original of which is in England, while at Milan may be seen a duplicate in the possession of Count Kewenhiller. The one at Rome bore, in old characters, the date of 1505, a date unquestionably false. The date inscribed on the Nuptials of St. Catherine, in the possession of Count Brull, formerly first minister to the king of Poland—a picture exactly corresponding with the one at Capo di Monte—bears a greater appearance of truth: this date gives the year 1517. In that year, which was the twenty-third of the painter's age, it is not unlikely that he had pretty well mastered his new style; since, about the year 1518 or 1519, he executed at Parma the picture which still remains in the monastery of S. Paolo. This picture, after many disputes, has recently been recognised as "one of the most spirited, one of the noblest and most erudite perform-

ances that ever proceeded from the hand of its incomparable author;" it has moreover been illustrated, and its true date ascertained, in an excellent little work by the Padre Affò. This work is of some import to our history. There it is explained how Coreggio might very well have imitated the ancients merely by the use of such helps as he met with at Parma; as well as how we may account for the serious difficulty arising from the silence of Mengs, who saw this picture without enumerating it among the rest of Antonio's works. There, too, we find explained another difficulty, namely, how a Chase of Diana, with that multitude of Cupids accompanying the goddess, and those other profanities distributed over various lunettes in the same chamber—the Graces, the Fates, the Vestals in the act of sacrificing, Juno suspended from heaven in a state of nudity, exactly as described in the fifteenth book of Homer's Iliad, and other subjects of the like nature, not at all becoming a religious establishment—could ever have been painted for a convent. Our wonder ceases on learning that this convent was the residence of an abbess, in an age when the nuns of S. Paolo were under very little restraint (in cui vivevasi senza clausura); when every abbess was created for life, had jurisdiction over towns and villages, and lived almost as a secular personage.

This undertaking, so admirably executed by Coreggio at St. Paul's, served to recommend him to the Padri Cassinensi, who made choice of him for the great work at the church of St. John; a work determined upon in the year 1520, and finished in 1524; as is evident from the archives. There, in addition to several minor works, he decorated the tribune; which was afterwards taken down for the purpose of lengthening the choir, and replaced by another, the decorations of which were by Aretusi. On the demolition of the tribune, the Coronation of the Virgin, which formed the most important part of this fresco, was saved, and may still be seen in the Royal library: several heads of angels also, which in like manner escaped the wreck,

are preserved in the Rondanini palace at Rome. Of Coreggio's performances in the church of St. John, there still exist, in one of the chapels, two pictures placed opposite to each other—a Descent from the Cross, and the Martyrdom of S. Placido—painted on canvass made for the purpose, as was the case with some of Mantegna's pictures. Outside another chapel is a St. John the Evangelist, a figure in the sublimest style. Lastly, there is the great cupola, on which he represented Christ ascending to the Father, and the Apostles looking up with mingled feelings of veneration and astonishment; and this work, whether we consider the proportions and foreshortening of the figures, the anatomy, the drapery, or the whole together, was, in its kind, a miracle of art without example;—for Michael Angelo's terrific *Last Judgment* at the Vatican was not yet in being.

Yet, admirable as was this work, it was forced to yield the palm to another of Coreggio's, (for none but he could have surpassed it,) and that was the Assumption of the Virgin, in the cathedral of Parma, finished in 1530. This work is on a much larger scale than the preceding; and here too, according to the usual custom, in the lower part of the picture the same Apostles are introduced, in attitudes of wonder and adoration, yet in such a manner as to make them totally distinct from the former. In the upper part of the picture he portrayed an immense multitude of Blessed Spirits grouped and disposed in the happiest manner, together with a crowd of Angels and Cherubs, all of them in action; some sustaining the Virgin and aiding her flight, others dancing and making melody, others again celebrating the glorious spectacle with shouts and songs of praise. Over these heads there is diffused a loveliness, an air of joy and festivity, and over the whole picture such a radiant light, that, though it has suffered greatly, it still acts like magic upon the spectator, and makes him almost fancy himself in heaven. These great works, as is reported also of those in the Chambers of Raphael, contributed not a little to the elevation of his style; and, in the diffi-

cult art of fresco-painting, carried him to the highest pitch of perfection. It is well worth while to examine them near at hand, and mark the boldness and confidence of the pencilling; to observe also those parts that at a distance appear so beautiful, effected by a few slight touches; and see that beautiful colouring, as well as that harmony which unites so many objects in one, produced, as it were, in mere sport. Coreggio survived four years after he had finished the cupola of the cathedral; nor did he, during all this time, ever commence the painting of the tribune, which he had undertaken to do, and for which indeed he had received a part of the stipulated price, though this was afterwards refunded by his heirs. It is conjectured that they who conducted the works caused him some disgust; for we find Soiaro, on being invited to paint at the Steccata, making difficulties and taking certain precautions, not choosing " to be subjected to the caprice of so many different heads; and you know (continues he in a letter to one of his friends) what was said to Coreggio in the cathedral." This must have been some insulting observation that disheartened and disgusted him; probably that which one of the workmen, who disapproved of the smallness of his figures, is said to have cast in his teeth—*Ci avete fatto un guazzetto di rane*—" Why, you have given us here a hash of frogs "—a senseless sneer, for which Coreggio might easily have consoled himself. One workman did not constitute the whole of Parma.

He died, however, four years afterwards, in his native place, at the age of forty-four, without having completed the work, and without having left us any portrait of himself that can be considered as genuine.

Mengs, who analyzed the last and most perfect of Coreggio's styles, as he did also in the case of Titian and Raphael, assigns him, in this triumvirate of painters, the next place after Raphael; observing that the latter depicted more exquisitely than he the effects of mental feeling, though in the expression of corporeal feeling he was inferior to him. In this branch of

art Coreggio was inimitable; contriving by means of his colouring, and yet more by means of his chiaroscuro, to introduce into his pictures an ideal beauty which surpasses that of nature, and at the very first glance enchants even the initiated; making them forget all that they have seen of the rare and the beautiful before. The St. Jerome, now in the academy of Parma, has more especially been honoured with these eulogiums. It is related of Algarotti, that, on observing this picture, he was for preferring it to every other, and could not refrain from apostrophizing Coreggio, and exclaiming:—Tu solo mi piaci!—"Thou alone pleasest me!" Annibal Caracci himself, at sight of this picture and certain others by the same hand, protests, in a letter to his cousin Lodovico, that he would not give them in exchange for the St. Cecilia of Raphael, which was then and still is at Bologna. And, to say the truth, the art of painting, which Michael Angelo had carried to the highest pitch of sublimity, Raphael to the highest pitch of expression and natural grace, and Titian to the last perfection of colouring, received from Coreggio (in the opinion at least of Mengs) a combination of excellences that rendered it complete in all its parts; adding to the sublime and the natural a certain elegance, and, as we may say, a taste directed at once to please the eye and content the heart of the spectator.

Design.—In design, Coreggio did not attain the same profound knowledge as Bonarruoti; yet even in this he displayed so much grandeur and taste, that the Caracci themselves took him for their model. I am aware that Algarotti does not think him always correct in the drawing of his outlines; but at the same time I am not ignorant that Mengs has defended him with much warmth from this charge. In his design we do not find that variety of lines that we meet with in Raphael's works and the remains of antiquity; for he did his utmost to avoid right lines and angles, adopting rather a continuous undulation of lines, sometimes convex, sometimes concave: nevertheless, some

will have it that the gracefulness of his paintings consists, in great measure, in this very peculiarity; so that Mengs, uncertain what decision to come to, at one time commends him for it, at another excuses him. He eulogizes him above measure for the design of his draperies, in which he paid more attention to the general masses than to the particular folds; he being the first to make the drapery enter into the real spirit of the composition both in point of contrast and arrangement; thus opening a new path to give it effect in works on a large scale. His youthful and infantine heads are more especially celebrated; smiling, as they do, with such an air of nature and simplicity, that they enchant the spectator, and force him to smile along with them. Owing to the incredible variety of foreshortenings he introduces, there is not one of his figures that has not something in it of novelty; there is scarcely a head that is not foreshortened as if seen from a point of view above or below it; scarcely a hand, I had almost said, or a whole figure, that he does not bend with a degree of grace of which there is no other example. In the art of foreshortening figures for ceilings, a task which Raphael seems to have shunned, he overcame some difficulties that still remained after the time of Mantegna; so that this branch of perspective was by his means brought to perfection.

Colouring.—With this elegance and gracefulness of design his colouring also corresponds; insomuch that Giulio Romano asserted it was the best he had ever met with; nor did he feel hurt, when the Duke of Mantua, intending to make a present of some pictures to Charles V., employed Coreggio to execute them instead of himself. A similar panegyric is bestowed upon him by Lomazzo, where he affirms that he might be considered as a unique rather than as a rare example among colourists. No other painter ever bestowed so much pains upon the preparation of his canvass, upon which, after he had covered it with a composition of chalk, he painted, as we have already said, without stint either in the quantity or the quality of his colours. In

the thick laying on of his colours (impasto) he approaches the manner of Giorgione, in their tone he resembles Titian; but, in the opinion of Mengs, he displays greater expertness in their gradation. In his colouring, moreover, he introduced a lucid appearance which we rarely find in that of others: we may almost fancy ourselves looking at objects in a mirror; and when, at even, other pictures begin to fade upon the eye for want of light, his paintings become in some sort more vivid; seeming, like stars, to overcome the darkness of the air. Of that varnish, for which Apelles is so highly applauded by Pliny, we can either form no idea at all from modern painting, or, if we can form some idea of it, it is to Coreggio that we are indebted for it. There have been those who could sometimes have wished for greater delicacy in his fleshes; though every one must acknowledge that he contrived to vary them admirably according to the age and the subject; imparting to them a degree of softness, juiciness, and life that makes them look like nature itself.

Chiaroscuro.—But his real *forte*, his distinguishing merit, his true pre-eminence above every other artist of whom we have any knowledge, consists in his happy management of light and shade. As nature herself does not clothe every object with the same strong light, but varies it according to the superficies, the opposition, and the distance of the object; so also did Coreggio contrive to diversify it, heightening or diminishing it by an almost insensible gradation—a point so indispensible in aërial perspective, (in which he attained the highest excellence,) and so conducive to the general harmony. He pursued the same plan in some degree in his shadows; so delicately representing in each the reflection of the adjacent colour, that, notwithstanding his lavish introduction of the darker tints, there is nothing of monotony in them: all is agreeably diversified. His merit in this respect is more particularly conspicuous in his *Night**, in

* Others have, with more propriety, called this picture *The Dawn of Day.*

the Dresden gallery, as well as in the Magdalene, of the same gallery, represented reclining in a cave—a small picture, but in the catalogues valued at twenty-seven thousand crowns. By means of his chiaroscuro, he not only imparted an incomparable degree of roundness and softness to his figures, but diffused over the whole composition a degree of taste till then unknown; disposing the masses of his lights and shades in a manner perfectly natural in reality, though in appearance wholly ideal. To this degree of perfection he attained by pursuing the very same path that had been trodden by Michael Angelo—by making models in wax and chalk.

Invention—Composition—Expression.—In every other branch of painting he highly distinguished himself, though not equally in them all. His inventions were happy; except that he sometimes impaired the unity of the action by introducing different passages of the same story. Thus, in the story of Marsyas, in the Litta palace at Milan, we find expressed in different groups —his contest with Apollo—Minerva consigning him over to punishment—and the punishment itself. We may observe the same repetition in his story of Leda, painted for Charles V.; where the Swan is twice introduced gradually familiarizing himself with her, till in the third group he enjoys her. For the rest, his pieces in general have some affinity with the poems of Anacreon, in which Cupids, and, in sacred subjects, Cherubs, are seen engaged in the most winning actions: thus in the picture of St. George, we find them disporting about the helmet and sword of the Saint: in the St. Jerome, we see an angel drawing our Saviour's attention to the writings of that great Doctor of Holy Church; while another applies to his nostrils the uncovered box of ointment of the Magdalene. Of his skill in composition, we have a proof in the cupola to which we have more than once offered our tribute of admiration, where the architecture would seem to have been accommodated to the painting, not the painting to the architecture. He was fond of contrast, not only in different figures, but in the different parts of the same

figure; yet he did not affect contrast, or carry it to that excess which afterwards prevailed, to the prejudice both of decorum and truth. His powers of expression were perhaps unexampled in subjects of a tender nature; as in the Magdalene just mentioned, who, in the act of kissing the feet of the Infant Jesus, is made to assume a look and demeanour expressive of the varied beauties scattered here and there in the works of other artists, as Mengs has at large observed—a picture, of which we may fairly say with Catullus, "Omnibus una omnes surripuit veneres." In the Dead Christ, too, at Parma, he succeeded to admiration in expressing the passion of grief, and in diversifying it according to the subject; making it the most affecting in the Magdalene, the most profound in the Virgin, while in the third figure it assumes a more moderate character. If he did not often undertake to express the fiercer passions, it was not because he wanted the power: in his Martyrdom of S. Placido, there is an executioner represented with so much truth, that Domenichino avowedly imitated it in his celebrated picture of St. Agnes.

Keeping and Erudition.—Lastly, in his sacred pieces, we have nothing more to wish for in the way of keeping: in his stories from profane fable he might have improved it, had he, like Raphael and more modern artists, adhered closely to the models of antiquity. In his Leda, Juno has the air of a woman advanced in years, who, full of spite and jealousy, watches the clandestine amours of Jupiter: there is nothing of the antique about her either in feature or accompaniments; and hence, in the descriptions of this picture, this figure is considered as a cypher. In the story of Marsyas, too, neither has Marsyas himself any thing about him of the Faun, nor has Minerva her ægis, or any of her usual attributes, nor has Apollo either the face or the figure usually given to him now-a-days; while in his hand he holds a fiddle instead of a lyre. From hence we might deduce another argument to prove that Coreggio never visited Rome, where even indifferent painters, by the help of those

remains of antiquity with which that city abounds, learnt to avoid such defects. They are, however, but trifling blemishes, after all; nay, they may even be considered favourable to Coreggio's fame, if they serve to make us still more certain that the merit of his admirable style is all his own, without being attributable to the examples of a multitude of other artists. Regarded in this light, he almost appears to be something more than man; and, as Annibal Caracci observed, compared with him, Parmigianino and other painters of the same stamp dwindle into insignificance. The works of this great man become continually more and more scarce in Italy, in consequence of the great request in which they are held, and the high prices at which they are purchased, by foreigners. Their place, however, is supplied by many old copies, especially of the smaller pictures; such as the Nuptials of St. Catherine, the Magdalene in Repose, the Flight of the Young Man—pieces already mentioned: to these we may add, Christ's Prayer in the Garden, of which the original is in the Escurial, and that other picture at Dresden, called the Zingherina. Among these old copies the most esteemed are those executed by Schedone, Lelio da Novellara, Girolamo da Carpi, and the Caracci; the latter of whom, by long practice in copying Coreggio's works, made very near approaches to the originals, though always more so in design than in skill and delicacy of colouring.

Thus far have I described at one and the same time the style of Antonio Allegri and that of his school; not because any one has ever yet equalled or even approached him, but because all of them held nearly the same maxims; though not always without introducing certain others. The distinguishing feature of the Parmesan school, called also by way of eminence the Lombard school, is foreshortening; as the expression of the nerves and muscles is of the Florentine: nor is it of much importance to add, that here too the foreshortened style was by some carried to affectation and excess, just as the anatomical was at Florence:

to imitate well is everywhere found to be a difficult task. Among the characteristics of this school we may also notice a closer attention to chiaroscuro and the disposition of the drapery than to the representation of the human frame, in which few are really thought to have evinced much merit. Their contours are ample, their heads not so much ideal as selected from among the people of that state, in whom they are usually found to be well rounded, high coloured, and not unfrequently possessed of those features and that joyousness which in Coreggio's works pass for original*.

PARMIGIANINO.

The life of Francesco Mazzuola, called il Parmigianino, has been written by the Padre Affò. That biographer is of opinion that he was not the scholar of Coreggio, but of his two uncles; in whose studio he must have painted that Baptism of Christ, which is now in the possession of the Counts Sanvitali, and which, for a boy of fourteen, (Francesco's age at the time,) is an admirable performance. The same biographer remarks, that, at sight of Coreggio's works, Francesco became one of his followers; and to this period are referred certain pictures of his which betray a palpable imitation of that master's style; such as a Holy Family, in the possession of the President Bertioli, and a S. Bernardino in that of the Padri Osservanti at Parma. Indeed the mere circumstance of Francesco's having been chosen, together with Rondani and Anselmi, to paint a chapel near the cupola of Coreggio, proves that, like the other two, he must have acquired a style somewhat analogous to his, and have evinced

* Among Coreggio's more eminent followers we may notice his son Pomponio Allegri, Fra Maria Rondani, Michelangiolo Anselmi, Bernardino Gatti, and Giorgio Gandini.

some degree of docility in following his directions. He was, however, too conscious of his own powers to rest satisfied at being second in one style, while he found himself able to become first in another: and such, in fact, he afterwards became; for, owing to the continued procrastination of the above-mentioned work, he made the tour of Italy; and, having seen Giulio at Mantua, and Raphael at Rome, he formed a style which passes for original. It is at once grand, noble, and dignified; not prodigal of figures, but making a few produce a powerful effect even in a large picture; as in the S. Rocco at S. Petronio of Bologna, or that celebrated chiaroscuro, the Moses, at the Steccata of Parma.

Nevertheless, the distinguishing characteristic and proper province of this artist is grace; insomuch that it was a common saying at Rome, that the spirit of Raphael had passed into him. To this object he directed all his efforts. In his designs we are continually meeting with repetitions of the same figure—trials which he had made in order to attain the highest grace in the form and attitudes of his figures, and in the lightness of his drapery; in which latter he was eminently successful. Algarotti was of opinion, that in his heads he sometimes overstepped the mark, and sunk into affectation; a critique for which Agostino Caracci paved the way, when he required in the painter (un po' di grazia del Parmigianino) a *little* of Parmigianino's grace, not the whole of it, because it appeared to him to be carried too far. It was, too, according to others, owing to this over-studiousness of grace, that he sometimes dealt in proportions of too great length, not only as regards the stature of the figures themselves, but the fingers and the neck; as in the celebrated Madonna of the Pitti palace, which from this defect is usually called the Madonna of the Long Neck (Madonna del Collo Lungo): but in this he was not without his apologists. This gracefulness of style is moreover promoted even by his colouring; which is, for the most part, of a quiet, sober, and sub-

dued tone, as though it were loath to present itself to the eye with too much vivacity. If we abide by Albani's decision, Parmigianino was not very studious of expression, of which he has left but few examples: though, in fact, that very grace that animates his infantine and other delicate figures, either deserves the name of expression; or, if that quality respect the passions solely, it sufficiently well supplies its place. It is, indeed, on account of this grace that we so readily overlook his errors, and suffer even his defects to pass for merits.

It would seem that he was somewhat slow of conception, and accustomed to shape the whole picture in his imagination before he put his hand to the pencil; but that he was afterwards quick in execution. In his works we observe some strokes so bold and free, that Albani calls them divine, and asserts, that it was to his great practice in the art of design that he owed this inimitable faculty; which, however, in him was not disunited from diligence and high finish. His works do not all exhibit the same full body of colouring, nor all produce the same effect: yet there are some of them, which their author painted *con amore*, that have even been ascribed to Coreggio. Such is the Cupid constructing his Bow, at whose feet are two infantine figures, the one laughing, the other crying; of which, besides the one in the Imperial gallery, there are various other duplicates; so much did it take the fancy either of the author himself or of some other artist. With regard to this picture, I follow the opinion of Vasari, supported as it is by the Padre Affò, and many other connoisseurs with whom I have conversed on the subject: for the rest, Boschini calls this Cupid as indisputably a Coreggio, as either the Ganymede or the Leda, mentioned in the same controversy (p. 302); an opinion which has been, and still is, countenanced by many others.

Parmigianino's smaller pictures, portraits, youthful heads, and sacred pieces, are not very rare, and some of them are found repeated in various places. The one most frequently to be met

with in different collections is a picture of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus and St. John; to which are added, St. Catherine and St. Zacharias, or some such old head, placed close to the former. This painting was formerly to be seen in the Farnese gallery at Parma; and such a painting, or one very much resembling it, may still be seen in the Florentine and Capitoline galleries; in those of the Corsini, Borghese, and Albani princes at Rome; and, at Parma, in that of the Abate Mazza, as well as elsewhere; nor is it easy to believe they can all be original, of however old a date. Copious compositions of his are rarely to be met with; such as the Christ preaching to the Multitude, to be seen in one of the ducal apartments at Colorno, and one of the brightest gems of that delightful villa. His altar-pieces are not very numerous; nor is any one of them more highly prized than the S. Margherita at Bologna. It is a picture that abounds with figures, and one which the Caracci thought they could never sufficiently study and admire; while Guido, in a sort of transport, even preferred it to the St. Cecilia of Raphael. Another of his more remarkable works is the fresco which he commenced at the Steccata, where, besides the Moses in chiaroscuro, he painted an Adam and Eve and some Virtues, without, however, completing the work, for which he had been paid. In consequence of having left this work in an unfinished state, Francesco was thrown into prison, and afterwards lived in exile at Casale, where he died at the age of thirty-seven, the age of his favourite Raphael. He was bewailed as one of the first luminaries not only of the art of painting, but of the art of engraving on copper*.

* Girolamo Mazzuola, the friend and companion of Parmigianino, "is not known (says Lanzi) beyond Parma and its neighbourhood; though he well deserves to be known for the strength and general merit of his colouring, in which he has few equals."

Cremonese School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

I HAVE never read the lives of Bernardino and the rest of the Campi without fancying I could discover in the school of Cremona, which they founded, the first sketch of that which the Caracci afterwards established at Bologna. In each of those cities one single family formed the project of striking out a new style of painting, which should partake of the manner of all the different schools of Italy, without directly borrowing from any: in each of those cities there proceeded from one single family such a number of eminent masters, that, partly by their own efforts, partly by means of their scholars, they not only embellished their country with their works, but did honour to the art itself by their example, and to its annals by their name. That the school of Cremona did not in the sequel come up to that of Bologna in merit and in fame—that it did not last so long as the *Caraccescan*—that this latter succeeded in some measure in accomplishing what the other had only attempted; all this may be imputed to a variety of causes. For the present, however, I proceed, according to my usual wont, to notice the first germs of this school; nor need we, in our search after them, go farther than that magnificent cathedral, which was commenced in 1107, and, at the earliest opportunity, decorated both with sculpture and painting. In each of these branches there are specimens well worth the attention of the antiquarian, whose object it is to ascertain by what means, and by what steps, the arts gradually revived in Italy. The sculpture, indeed, presents us with nothing but what we may also witness at Verona, Crema, and

other places; whereas the paintings still in being on the two side aisles are perfectly unique, and worth the trouble of a close inspection; seeing that the figures are small, and that there is a deficiency of light. The subjects are taken from holy writ; the design is beyond measure dry, the colouring strong, the dresses wholly new; except in so far as some of them continue to be met with even now-a-days in masquerades, or on the Italian stage. There are edifices given merely in outline, as in some of the older wood-cuts; and there are also written characters to explain the principal figures, as we sometimes meet with in the older mosaics, when the eye, not yet accustomed to the contemplation of historical pieces, stood in need of such explanations. There is here, however, nothing to remind us of the Greek mosaics; every thing is Italian, novel, and national. The written characters leave us in no doubt as to whether we should ascribe these works to Giotto's or to the preceding age; but the figures prove that their author was indebted neither to Giotto nor Cimabue for any portion of his acquirements*.

* Under this epoch, Lanzi next proceeds to prove that there were painters at Cremona as early as 1213; and gives, subsequently to the year 1335, a regular series of masters down to Gianfrancesco Bembo, styled il Vetraro, and eulogized by Vasari. The most distinguished of the series, however, is, "Boccaccio Boccaccino, who is among the Cremonese what Ghirlandaio, Mantegna, Vannucci, and Francia are in their respective schools—il miglior moderno fra gli antichi, e il miglior antico fra' moderni—one who had the honour of being Garofalo's master for the space of two years previous to his departure for Rome in 1500. Boccaccino's works on the frieze of the cathedral—the Birth of the Virgin, together with other historical pieces relative to her and the Saviour—are still in being. The style is in part original, and in part similar to Pietro Perugino's, whose scholar he was, according to Pascoli's account; less symmetrical in point of composition, less graceful as regards the air of the heads, and less forcible in chiaroscuro; but richer in the drapery, more varied in the colouring, more spirited in the attitudes, and perhaps not less harmonious nor less attractive in the landscapes and architectural embellishments."

Cremonese School.

EPOCH II.

CAMILLO BOCCACCINO, IL SOIARO, THE CAMPI.

THE noble cathedral of Cremona, and still more the church of St. Sigismund, which had been erected by Francesco Sforza at a short distance from the city, contributed not a little to the advancement even of these more modern artists—Camillo Boccaccino, Soiaro, and the Campi; who, as well as their descendants, painting there in competition with each other, converted it into a sort of school of the fine arts. There we may in some sort trace the order in which those masters followed each other; their various merits; their predominating style, which was that of Coreggio; their different modes of modifying it; and their remarkable talent for frescos. With these they embellished not only their churches, but, in every street, covering with them the façades of palaces and private dwellings, they imparted to their native place a brilliancy of exterior that failed not to excite the admiration of strangers: insomuch that, on their arrival at Cremona, they were apt to fancy they were contemplating a city on the eve of a rejoicing, and decked out, as it were, for some gay and splendid pageant.

Camillo Boccaccino is the greatest genius of the school. Initiated in the old maxims of the art adopted by his father, he contrived, without enjoying a long life, to hit upon a style in which the graceful and the vigorous were so happily blended together, that it would be hard to say in which of those two properties he succeeded best. There are pictures of his still in being, on the cupola, the principal recess, and the sides of the

larger altar, in the church of St. Sigismund. The most celebrated of these pieces are the four Evangelists, represented in a sitting posture, with the exception of St. John, who is standing, and who, with body bent in an attitude of wonder, forms a curve of contrary flexure compared with that of the ceiling—a figure equally famed for the design and the perspective. It seems almost incredible that a mere youth could, without frequenting the school of Coreggio, so well have imitated his style, and have carried it even farther than himself in so short a space of time; for this work, which exhibits so thorough a knowledge of perspective and foreshortening, was executed in 1537.

At Cremona, as well as elsewhere, much applause has also been lavished on the two lateral pictures above mentioned—the one representing the Resurrection of Lazarus, the other the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, surrounded with beautiful borders exhibiting a crowd of sportive Cherubs that look as though they were alive—one of them holding a mitre, another a censer, a third some other sacred vessel. In these two pieces themselves, as well as the surrounding borders, the figures are all disposed and turned in such a manner, that we can hardly in a single instance distinguish the eyes of any of them—a whimsical procedure, to say the truth, that ought never to be imitated. Camillo's object was to convince his rivals, that his figures did not owe their attractions, as they were wont to affirm, solely, to the vivacity of the eyes, but to the merits of all the other parts. And, in fact, these figures, notwithstanding their peculiar posture, are highly pleasing for the design, the variety and beauty of the attitudes, the foreshortenings, the truth of the colouring, and the strength of the chiaroscuro, which I suspect he derived from Pordenone, and which, by comparison, makes the pictures of the Campi at the same place look as if deficient in relief.

Bernardino Gatti—from his father's calling styled il Soiaro—has already been noticed among the artists of the Parmesan

school*; I must now at least briefly notice him among the more eminent of those of Cremona. Cremona possesses a considerable number of Soiaro's pictures, from those that he executed in early youth down to those that he painted in extreme old age, when, having now attained his eightieth year and become afflicted with palsy, he painted with the left hand. It was then, however, that he painted for the cathedral his picture of the Assumption—a picture fifty palms high—which, though left unfinished in consequence of its author's death, is, as Lamo has justly observed, a most admirable performance. *Gervasio Gatti il Soiaro* is also celebrated in story: he was the nephew of Bernardino, who led him, while yet a youth, to that same fountain-head at which he himself had slaked his thirst—Coreggio's works at Parma, which he taught him to copy and design.

The Campi.—These were four in number; all of them were indefatigable in their profession; all of them lived to a good old age. There have been those who have styled them the Vasaris and the Zuccaris of Lombardy; a comparison which has some degree of fairness in it, if we confine it to the grand scale of their larger compositions, and the great number of their other works; but more of injustice, if, as would seem to be implied, we are to extend it also to a desire on their part to paint a great deal, rather than to paint well. Giulio and Bernardino —the more eminent of the Campi—if they sometimes despatched their works in too hasty and negligent a manner, this did not often happen; and much even of this may be attributed to their coadjutors. For the rest, they usually paid due attention to the accuracy of their design and the good quality of their colours; whence their tints still retain their freshness, while, in the works

* In the account here alluded to, Lanzi eulogizes him for his successful imitation of Coreggio's style, of whose maxims he describes him as very tenacious.

of the followers of Vasari and the Zuccari, the colours, having in great part faded, stand in need of being refreshed, and, as it were, restored to life again, by the hands of modern artists.

GIULIO CAMPI.

Giulio Campi may be considered as the Lodovico Caracci of his school. The elder brother of Antonio and Vincenzio, and Bernardino's coadjutor, or, at least, his master, he conceived the design of forming a style which should combine the perfections of various others. His father, from whom he had received some instructions during his earlier years, not deeming himself equal to the task of completing his education, sent him to the school of Giulio Romano, who was then at Milan. Accordingly, under Giulio Romano he laid the foundation of his style; and from him derived that grandiosity of design, that skill in the representation of the naked figure, that variety and fertility of fancy, those magnificent architectural embellishments, and that universality of talent, which enabled him to handle any subject with success. This admirable address he carried still further on occasion of his visit to Rome, where he studied the works of Raphael and the remains of antiquity; and where he copied with singular fidelity the relievos on Trajan's Pillar—works which have ever been looked upon as a school of ancient art open to the student even of our own days. Whether it was at Mantua or elsewhere I know not, but this I do know, that he studied the works of Titian, and that he was not inferior to any other stranger in his imitations of them. With regard to two others whom he took for his models, he had no need to go beyond the confines of his own country in quest of them: these were Pordenone and Soiaro; whose style, according to Vasari, he adopted before he knew or imitated Giulio Romano. To

such preparatory steps, to which we must add the copying whatever of Raphael's or Coreggio's works came in his way, was he indebted for that style which exhibits vestiges of the manner of so many different artists.

Giulio Campi, however, was not so wholly intent on imitating the great masters as to be unmindful of nature. On the contrary, nature was the object which he, as well as the rest of the Campi, (to whom he acted as preceptor,) constantly had in view. In their works we continually meet with heads, especially female heads, copied from such as Cremona presented to their observation. The colouring of these heads approximates to that of Paolo Veronese. In the distribution of their colours, the Campi follow, with little exception, the method most general in Italy previous to the time of the Caracci; but in their mode of applying and giving vigour to them, they evince a gracefulness peculiar to themselves, which Scaramuccia looked upon as altogether original. Hence, on observing merely their colouring and the style of their heads, it is not so easy to distinguish one of the Campi from another; but, on observing their design, there is less difficulty in making such distinction. Giulio surpasses the rest of the Campi in grandeur of style; and is the one who aims most at appearing skilled in the anatomy of the human frame and the management of light and shade. In chasteness of design he excels his two brothers, but is in this respect inferior to Bernardino.

ANTONIO CAMPI.

Antonio Campi was instructed by his brother both in painting and architecture, which latter he cultivated more assiduously than Giulio. He also cultivated the art of modelling and that of copperplate engraving, and ranks moreover among the chroniclers of his native place, of which he published an account,

enriched with a number of engravings, in the year 1585. He is therefore among the Campi what Agostino is among the Caracci; an artist of multifarious accomplishments and not deficient in polite literature. The master whom he most usually looked up to as a model was Coreggio; and the part in which he chiefly aimed at distinguishing himself was grace. As regards the colouring, he frequently attained his object in this respect; less frequently, however, as regards the design; where, from his eagerness to attain the graceful, he sometimes degenerated into the slender, while at other times, by seeking to display his skill in foreshortening, he introduces it out of place. In subjects of a robust character he betrays still greater mannerism; and now and then inclines to heaviness; a defect which may, in like manner, have arisen from his solicitude to imitate the grandiosity of Coreggio, which is perhaps more difficult of imitation than even his gracefulness. Many of these faults, however, as well as the inaccuracy of design of which he was occasionally guilty, may admit of palliation, as being imputable to his assistants, of whom he had a great number in the vast works that he executed. The same excuse, however, cannot be pleaded for the crowded composition observable in some of his works; nor for the introduction of caricatures into his sacred pieces; which is something like jesting at an unseasonable time. In a word, he was endowed with a comprehensive, vigorous, and resolute genius; but a genius that required restraint; and in this respect, as well as in what relates generally to a profound knowledge of the art, we should do wrong to compare him to Agostino Caracci.

Vincenzio Campi.—From Antonio Campi we learn that Vincenzio was the youngest of the three brothers; and we learn from others that he was the constant companion of his brothers' labours, though about as fit to be compared with them as was Francesco Caracci to be compared to his brothers, Annibale and Agostino. His portraits, however, and fruit-pieces, (which latter he represented with a good deal of truth and nature in cabinet pictures,

by no means rare at Cremona,) are much esteemed. His historical pieces are, perhaps, equal to those of his brothers' in point of colouring, but inferior to them in invention and design.

BERNARDINO CAMPI.

Bernardino Campi, probably a relative of the three Campi, of whom we have just made such honourable mention, is, with regard to them, what Annibale is with regard to the rest of the Caracci. Having imbibed the rudiments of art from the elder of the Campi, he entered into the same views of forming a style that might partake of various others; and in a short time emulated, and, in the opinion of some, surpassed his master. At first, in compliance with his father's wishes, he had followed the trade of a goldsmith; but subsequently, at sight of two of Raphael's tapestries that had been copied by Giulio Campi, he resolved to change his profession; and, placing himself under the instruction, first of Campi, at Cremona, next of Ippolito Costa, at Mantua, he began, when no more than nineteen years old, to profess the art of painting, and might at that early age have been considered a proficient in it. At Mantua he had made himself acquainted with Giulio Romano and his school; and there is reason to think that his ideas expanded on witnessing Giulio's performances, and that he thence acquired a taste for great undertakings: still, however, his darling model was Raphael: the paintings, the designs, and engravings from Raphael's works, were the object of his delight; while, with regard to Giulio and others, I suspect he emulated those properties only in which he seemed to recognise his favourite Raphael. At Mantua also he studied Titian's eleven Cæsars; and having copied them, he added a twelfth, so exactly corresponding in style, that it looked more like an original than an imitation.

He was, moreover, by the liberality of a certain patron of his, enabled to visit Parma, Modena, and Reggio, in order to make himself acquainted with Coreggio's style; and how much he profited by the excursion, the paintings at St. Sigismund afford sufficient proof. Out of these elements, and others that he met with in his native place, he formed a style which may rank among the most novel to be found among imitators. The kind of imitation in which he deals is not, like that of most others, palpable; it resembles Sannazaro's imitation of the best Latin poets, who, while every one of his lines is imbued with it, yet contrives to make every line wholly and properly his own. And as Virgil was Sannazaro's favourite model, so, among the variety of models that Bernardino imitated, the one in which he most delighted and which he chiefly followed, was Raphael; and well had it been for him, had he seen Rome itself and the original works of that consummate master. This disadvantage he compensated as he best could; adopting certain principles founded in simplicity and nature, which distinguished him from the rest of his school. Confronted with the rest of the Campi, he appears the most timid but the most correct; he has less of grandeur than Giulio Campi, but more of ideal beauty, and makes a more forcible appeal to the heart. In the length of his proportions he resembles Antonio rather than Giulio Campi, but in no other respect; insomuch that sometimes, as in the Assumption at the cathedral, he seems to border on dryness, in order to avoid falling into mannerism.

Cremonese School.

EPOCH III.

THE SCHOOL OF THE CAMPI DECLINES—TROTTI AND OTHERS SUSTAIN IT.

From the sketch I have just taken, it is no hard matter to perceive that the school of the Campi was a sort of rough draught of that of the Caracci; nor is it difficult to understand why, while they both proceeded on the same plan, the former should have been less successful than the latter. The Caracci all three of them excelled in design, and always aimed at giving proofs of it: they were, moreover, of one mind and confined to one spot, whence they invariably afforded each other mutual assistance; besides this, they kept in constant operation a school, of which the object was, not so much to study the different manners of different artists, as to enter philosophically into the various effects of nature, in order that their works might be immediately, not distantly, related to her. The Campi, on the contrary, neither uniformly aspired after excellence, nor lived together, nor ever united in forming a school on such a systematic and well-regulated plan: each of them not only dwelt alone, but kept a separate school; teaching his scholars, if I mistake not, rather to imitate himself than to penetrate into the true principles of the art. Hence it came to pass, that while Domenichino, Guido, Guercino, and other followers of the Caracci, started up with a variety of styles distinguished for novelty and originality, the scholars of the Campi were remarkable only for imitating as closely as they could the painters of their native place, either individually or collectively. Nay, further, since man is everywhere alike, the same thing that occurred in the other

schools of Italy occurred also here;—their successors having acquired some degree of ability in imitating those that preceded them, gave way to negligence in the execution of their works; and while the latter drew almost every thing from nature, preparing cartoons, making wax models, and paying the utmost attention to the disposition of the drapery, and every other circumstance; the former contented themselves with preparing an imperfect sketch of their work and copying a few heads from nature, executing the rest in a mere mechanical manner, and as best suited their convenience. Thus, by degrees, even this illustrious school degenerated; and at the time, too, when the scholars of the Procaccini were pursuing the very same method at Milan. Hence, during the seventeenth century, Lombardy was overrun with servile imitators, (settari,) in comparison of whom the followers of Zuccari might be called eminent painters.

Trotti.—Of all Bernardino Campi's scholars, his greatest favourite was Gio. Batista Trotti. This latter happening to be employed at Parma in company with Agostino Caracci, and being at that court more applauded than his rival, was denominated by Agostino a hard bone—*mal osso*—which they had given him to gnaw. Hence he ever afterwards retained the nickname of Malosso, a name which he willingly adopted, with which he subscribed his works, and which he transmitted to his nephew. Thus it would seem that he took for praise, what Agostino had meant for censure; the latter complaining by that expression that a man of inferior merit should have been preferred before himself. And, to say the truth, Malosso was not a match for his competitor either in design or real taste: his works, however, exhibited certain attractive qualities well suited to gain him a powerful party, and enable him to make head against every other artist. To Bernardino's style he adhered only in his earlier performances: subsequently he attentively studied Coreggio's works; but still more did he look up to Soiaro

as his model; whose gay, open, and brilliant style, remarkable for the variety of its foreshortenings and the vivacity of its attitudes, he imitated in the greater part of his works. He even carried this imitation too far, frequently indulging to excess in whites and other bright colours, without sufficiently modifying them with those of a darker hue; whence I have sometimes heard his paintings compared to those on china, and charged with want of relief, or, as Baldinucci has it, with something of a hard dry manner. His heads are very beautiful; exhibiting, like Soiaro's, a graceful roundness and a fascinating smile; but he is too fond of repeating them; introducing even into the same piece heads of which the features, the colouring, and expression, are very nearly the same. This defect we can impute only to his excessive haste; for assuredly he could not be charged with any want of fancy.

Trotti reared no small number of pupils, who flourished about the year 1600, and were very tenacious of his manner; though, in process of time, the mode of laying on the grounds having, throughout the whole of Italy, undergone a change for the worse, and the age giving the preference to a style of a more sombre character, those pupils began to depart from the brightness which formed the distinguishing feature of his works.

Milanese School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS, TILL THE APPEARANCE OF DA VINCI.

If, in our account of each of the Italian schools, we have made a point of going back to the dark ages, and thence coming gradually down to more polished times, Milan, the capital of Lombardy and the residence of the Lombard kings, presents us with an epoch, which, from its importance and the grandeur of its monuments, must not be passed over in silence. When the kingdom of Italy passed from the Goths to the Lombards, the arts, which invariably follow in the train of fortune, transferred their chief seat from Ravenna to Milan, Monza, and Pavia. In each of these places there exist even now some vestiges of that style, which, from the country and the period, is still denominated Lombard; just as, in the science of diplomacy, the name Lombard is still applied to certain written characters peculiar to that age, or rather to those ages; inasmuch as, even after the Lombards were expelled from Italy, the same character was employed in inscriptions and writings throughout great part of it. The style of which we are speaking, as displayed in the works of that age, whether in metal or marble, is rude and uncouth beyond all former example; and is seen more frequently, as well as to more advantage, in the representation of monsters (both birds and beasts) than of human figures. At the cathedral, the church of St. Michael's, that of St. John's at Pavia, we see, on the frieze over the doors, animals linked together in various ways, sometimes in a posture not unnatural, sometimes with the head turned backward; and within the same churches, as well as certain others, we meet with capitals of pillars deco-

rated with similar figures; sometimes with the addition of historical pieces presenting figures of men, I had almost said, of another species—so little resemblance do they bear to the human race. The same perverted taste pervaded the territories over which the Lombard Dukes bore sway; such as Friuli, which still retains many monuments of this barbarous style. At Cividale there is a marble altar commenced by the Duke Pemmone, and completed by his son Ratchi, both of whom lived during the eighth century: the bas-reliefs represent—Our Saviour seated amidst various Angels—the Epiphany—and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. It would seem impossible that any thing could exceed the rudeness of these figures: and yet, whoever chooses to examine on the spot, the frieze over one of the doors, or the capitals of the pillars, of S. Celso at Milan—works of the tenth century—will acknowledge that it was possible to carry the depravation of art still further, when to the rude was added the ridiculous, and when abortive figures were produced, all hands and heads, with legs and feet ill calculated to support them. Of this character there are very many statues at Verona and elsewhere. There are nevertheless monuments which will not permit us to maintain, as a system, that there were in Italy at that time no vestiges whatever of the correct style of the ancients*.

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* Lanzi here proceeds to notice a few anonymous pictures to be seen at Monza, Pavia, Galliano, and Milan, of a date anterior to Giotto, who executed some few works at the latter place about the year 1335. He observes, too, that, shortly afterwards, Giotto's most distinguished scholar, Stefano Fiorentino, was invited to Milan by Matteo Visconti. He then goes on to notice various old Milanese painters, till we come to Vincenzio Foppa, who flourished about 1450, and who, he says, may in some sort be looked upon as the founder of the Milanese school. Subsequent to this period, the most distinguished of those recorded under this first epoch are,—Bernardino da Trevilio, Bramante Lazzari, Bramantino, Agostin da Milano, Giovanni Donato Montorfano, and Giovenone.

Milanese School.

EPOCH II.

DA VINCI ESTABLISHES A SCHOOL OF DESIGN AT MILAN. PUPILS OF THAT SCHOOL, AND OF THE BEST NATIVE ARTISTS DOWN TO THE TIME OF GAUDENZIO.

In treating of the Florentine school, we gave a compendious account of Leonardo da Vinci's education in the art of painting, of his style, and of his residence in various cities, amongst which we took occasion to notice Milan, and the academy that he opened there. The years that Leonardo spent at Milan were perhaps the most tranquil of his life, and certainly the most conducive to the advancement of art. It was chiefly through his means that the Milanese school became one of the most observant of keeping of any in Italy. Mengs has already remarked, that in the management of strong chiaroscuro no one surpassed Da Vinci. He taught his scholars to look upon light as though it had been a gem; not to diffuse it indiscriminately, but to reserve it for those parts where it would produce the greatest effect. Hence it is that, in his paintings, and those of his more distinguished followers, we meet with that strong relief, owing to which the pictures themselves, but more especially the heads, seem almost to start from the canvass.

A considerable period had now elapsed since painters had begun to pay more attention to the delicacies and minutiæ of art; a point in which Botticelli, Mantegna, and others, had already extorted the praise of their contemporaries. But as minuteness is incompatible with sublimity, it could but ill accord with that elevation in which consists the perfection of art. Leonardo, as it appears to me, was the first who succeeded in reconciling

these two extremes. Whenever he took the pains to produce a finished performance, he not only imparted the last perfection to the heads, imitating the sparkling of the eyes, the setting on of the hair, the pores of the skin, and even the pulsation of the arteries; but also drew with the utmost minuteness every garment and every ornament. In his landscapes, too, there is not a single plant or a single leaf of a tree that is not copied from the choicest nature; while to the leaves themselves is given a flexibility and movement admirably suited to represent them as agitated by the wind. But, as Mengs himself has observed, while he thus attended even to little things, he laid the foundation of a more elevated style, and studied, more profoundly than any other artist on record, that most philosophical and sublime walk of art—expression; in which respect he may even be said to have paved the way for Raphael himself. Never was any one more curious in investigating, more diligent in observing, or more prompt in catching the various expressions of the passions, as indicated either by the features or the gestures. He used to haunt the more frequented places and the theatres, where man puts forth his greatest energy; and there, in a little sketch-book, which he always had about him, he copied the attitudes of which he was in quest: these he kept by him, availing himself afterwards of such of them as were of a more or less forcible expression, as occasion required, or according to the different gradations that he wished to represent. For, in the same manner as he was wont continually to augment his shadows till he had carried them to the highest pitch, so, in compositions containing several figures, he went on increasing their effect till he had carried the different emotions of the mind, and the different gestures of the body, to the highest point of expression. The same gradation he observed with regard to grace, of which he was perhaps the earliest votary; for the painters who preceded him seem not to have discriminated between this property and beauty; and still less to have adapted it to pleasing subjects in such a way as to

pass on from one degree of it to another, as was the case with Da Vinci. He observed the same rule also even in the ridiculous; making each succeeding caricature more whimsical than the preceding: indeed, it was a saying of his, that this quality ought to be carried to such a pitch, as, if it were possible, to provoke laughter even in the dead.

The distinguishing characteristic of this incomparable artist consists in an exquisiteness of taste, of which it would be difficult to find any other example either before or since; had we not heard of that Protogenes of old, with regard to whom Apelles could discover no other reason for giving himself the preference to him, save his excessive diligence. And, in fact, even Da Vinci was not always sufficiently mindful of that *ne quid nimis*, in which the perfection of human things consists. Phidias himself, said Cicero, had in his mind's eye a more beautiful Minerva and a more majestic Jupiter, than his art was capable of creating: it is the part of a wise man to aspire to the highest excellence, but still to rest content with lower degrees of it. Da Vinci was dissatisfied with his performances unless he succeeded in imparting to them all that perfection of which he conceived them capable; and finding it impossible, after all his efforts, to arrive at such a pitch of excellence, he sometimes stopped short at the design; sometimes carried the work to a certain point, and then abandoned it; sometimes spent such a length of time upon it, that one might almost have fancied Protogenes to have come to life again, who spent seven years upon his picture of Jalysus. But as that figure constantly unfolded fresh beauties to the admiring eyes of the spectator, so was it also, according to Lomazzo, with Da Vinci's paintings; even such of them as Vasari and others took to be unfinished.

Before we proceed further, it is the duty of a biographer, having here noticed Da Vinci's unfinished works, to put the reader in possession of the real meaning of the expression, when applied to this artist. Various works of his were no doubt left

in an unfinished state, as the Epiphany in the Grand Duke's gallery at Florence, or the Holy Family in that of the Archbishop at Milan. In general, however, this expression signifies nothing more than the want of a certain last degree of finish, which the author might have given to some part of the picture; a want that cannot always be detected even by the best judges. The portrait of Monna Lisa Gioconda, for instance, on which he spent no less than four years at Florence, and which, according to Vasari, was after all left in an imperfect state, was by Mariette, who observed it minutely in the gallery of the King of France, declared to be finished in so exquisite a manner, that it would seem impossible to have carried it further. A want of finish may be more easily recognised in other portraits of his, several of which still exist at Milan: such as one of a woman, in the possession of Prince Albani; another of a man, in the Scotti Gallerati palace; Lomazzo having remarked, that, with the exception of three or four, he left the heads imperfect in all the rest. But what were imperfections and defects in him, would constitute the highest merit and the glory of numberless others.

All accounts, too, represent as an unfinished performance that celebrated Last Supper, which he painted in the refectory of the Padri Domenicani at Milan; and yet all accounts agree in extolling it as one of the most beautiful pictures that ever proceeded from the hand of man. This picture is a compendium, not only of all that Leonardo taught in his works, but of all that he comprised within the compass of his studies. He there seized the moment best suited to give animation and interest to his subject; the moment when the Blessed Redeemer says to his disciples:—"One of you shall betray me." At these words, each of his innocent followers starts as if thunderstruck; such as are farthest off are seen interrogating their next neighbour, as though they fancied their ears must have deceived them; others, according to their different dispositions, are differently affected; one swoons away, another is lost in amazement, another springs

upon his feet in indignation, another protests, with an air of genuine simplicity and candour, that he ought to be above suspicion. Judas, in the mean time, contracts his brow; and, though he counterfeits innocence, leaves us no room to doubt that he is the traitor. Da Vinci used to say, that he had meditated for a whole year how best to represent a set of features worthy of so black a heart; and that, frequenting a quarter where men of the worst character used to assemble together, he there copied a head much to the purpose; adding to it, however, lineaments borrowed from various others. The like pains he took in portraying in the two James's a beauty of feature suited to the character of each; and having lavished his last touch of majesty on them, he left the head of Christ incomplete, as Vasari affirms; though, to Armenini, this too appeared most highly finished. The rest of the picture—the table-cloth with its folds, the various utensils, the table itself, the architectural ornaments, the distribution of the lights, the perspective of the ceiling, (which in the tapestry of St. Peter's at Rome is changed into a sort of hanging garden,) —all was executed with consummate care; all was worthy of the most delicate pencil the world ever saw. Had Da Vinci but been content to paint in distemper, according to the custom of the times, the art would have been in possession of this treasure at the present day. But Da Vinci, who was always attempting new methods, painted it on a certain *imprimitura* of his own invention, prepared with essential oils; and to this method of his was it owing that the picture gradually peeled off from the wall; as is the case also with a Madonna painted by him in S. Onofrio at Rome, although kept under glass. Only fifty years after the execution of the Last Supper, that is to say, when Armenini saw it, it was already "half defaced:" and Scannelli, who saw it in 1642, records that "it was with difficulty the story could then be made out." It will be enough for me to add, that of the whole picture nothing now exists of Da Vinci's execution, except the heads of three of the Apostles; and of these the design,

rather than the colouring, remains. Milan possesses but few of Da Vinci's works. Most of those that are pointed out as his, were painted by his scholars, though sometimes retouched by him; as the altar-piece of S. Ambrogio *ad Nemus*, a very beautiful performance. A Madonna with the Infant Jesus, at the Belgioioso d'Este palace, is considered as an indisputable work of his; as well as another picture or two in the hands of private individuals.

Of all his labours at Milan, nothing is more worthy of commemoration than the academy he founded there; for the painters it produced constitute the pride and glory of the Milanese school. They are not all equally known; and it not unfrequently happens, that, both in the different galleries and churches, pictures are pointed out as belonging to Da Vinci's school, without being referred to any particular author. Their altar-pieces seldom depart much from the style of composition common at that time to every school—the Virgin with the Infant Saviour on a throne, attended by various Saints, for the most part standing erect around it, and an Angel or two on the steps. Da Vinci's followers, however, were, if I mistake not, the first to bring their figures to something like a unity of action; giving them the appearance of addressing, or conversing with, one another. In every other respect, too, they exhibit considerable uniformity of taste; they display the same oval faces, the same simpering lips, the same fondness for precise and somewhat hard contours, the same subdued tone and harmony of colouring, the same predilection for chiaroscuro; which the less skilful among them carry to excess, while the more distinguished use it in moderation.

Cesar da Sesto.—One of those who, for a time, made the nearest approach to Da Vinci's style, was Cesar da Sesto. In the Ambrosian Library there is a head of an old man by him, in which he has admirably hit off the highly finished and lucid style of Leonardo. He passes for the most eminent of Leonardo's scholars; and is, by Lomazzo, from time to time held up as a

model in design, attitude, and the art of disposing the lights. He notices an Herodias of his, of which I met with a copy in the possession of the Counsellor Pagave, and of which the countenance struck me as bearing a strong likeness to the Fornarina of Raphael.

Marco da Oggione may be reckoned among the best of the Milanese painters. He did not confine himself to easel pictures, as was the case with the greater number of Da Vinci's scholars, who were accustomed to paint little and well; but was also eminently successful in frescos; and his works at the convent della Pace still remain unimpaired in the contours, and uninjured in the colouring. Some of these are in the church, and one very copious picture of the Crucifixion is in the refectory—an admirable performance, whether we regard the variety, the beauty, or the vivacity of the figures. Few of the Lombard painters have attained the degree of expression we here meet with; few exhibit the same skilfulness of composition, or the same gracefulness of drapery. In the light elegance of his human figures, and the beauty of his horses, we recognise the scholar of Da Vinci. In another refectory—that of the Certosa at Pavia—he painted a copy of Leonardo's Last Supper; and so well did he do it, that this copy in some measure atones for the loss of the original. Milan has two other altar-pieces of his, the one at S. Paolo in Compito, the other at S. Eufemia, executed in the style already described as peculiar to the school, and of great beauty and value; but the style which he pursued in his frescos is softer and more in conformity with the modern manner.

LUINI.

It remains for us to say something of the most celebrated of Da Vinci's imitators—Bernardin Lovino, according to his own mode of spelling his name, or, according to the more commonly received method, Luini; a native of Luino, on the Lago Maggiore. Certain others of Leonardo's scholars have surpassed him in nicety of finish, or gracefulness of chiaroscuro; in which latter respect Lomazzo gives the preference to Cesar da Sesto, affirming that Luini's shadows are of a less delicate character. Notwithstanding this, taking into account all the accomplishments requisite to a painter, no one made such near approaches to Da Vinci as did Luini; he having painted a vast number of heads, which, in design, colouring, and composition, bear so strong a resemblance to those of the great luminary of this school, that out of Milan many of his pictures pass for Da Vinci's.

We must, however, observe here of Luini, as we did just now of Cesar da Sesto; that he, too, in certain of his works approximates very closely to the style of Raphael. Whence, I suspect, has arisen the opinion entertained by some, that he had visited Rome; a circumstance which Bianconi with good reason calls in question; inclining rather to maintain the negative of that opinion. Leonardo's taste was so nearly allied to Raphael's in the delicate, the graceful, and the accurate expression of the passions, that had not his attention been distracted by the multiplicity of his pursuits, and had he dispensed with something of his exquisite finish in order to arrive at greater facility of execution, greater elegance and fulness of contour, his style would almost spontaneously have coincided with that of Raphael, with which, more especially in some of the heads, it has great affinity. The same, I suspect, was the case with Luini, who had made Da Vinci's style his own, and who lived in an age that was now making rapid strides towards a freer and softer

manner. Thus Luini began by painting in a style less full and bordering on the dry, as is sufficiently evident from his Pietà, at the church della Passione; but this style he subsequently went on modernizing by degrees.

It is my opinion, that Luini was indebted for this style not so much to Rome, (from whence he may perhaps have had some few engravings and copies of the works of the artists who flourished there,) as to the school of Da Vinci, with whose maxims I find him singularly imbued; but more especially did he owe it to his own genius, which, in its kind, was of the highest order, and indeed almost unrivalled: I say in its kind—the soft, the attractive, the tender, the affecting. In those historical pieces relative to the Virgin, at Sarono, though the features are not actually the same, yet they bear a close resemblance, in point of beauty, dignity, and modesty, to those with which Raphael has invested her. They invariably appear in keeping with the story; whether that story represent the Virgin being led to the altar; or listening with wonder to the prophetic voice of Simeon; or, rapt in contemplation of the awful mystery, receiving the Wise Men of the East; or, betwixt grief and joy, interrogating the Child Jesus in the Temple, and exclaiming, "Son, wherefore hast thou thus dealt with us?" In like manner, the other figures are invested with a sort of beauty adapted to their character—heads that seem as though they were alive—expressive looks and gestures that appear as if actually asking for an answer; combined, too, with a fertility of fancy, both in the drapery and the developement of the passions, which is nevertheless strictly in conformity with truth;—a style in which every thing appears natural and spontaneous; which rivets the eye at the first glance, engages it to examine the component parts, and makes it difficult to avert it—such is Luini's style in the above-mentioned Temple.

GAUDENZIO FERRARI.

According to Lomazzo, Ferrari's principal master was Scotto, though he was subsequently under the care of Luini; while, at Vercelli, the story goes that he was first of all a pupil of Giovenone's. Novara, it is thought, possesses one of his earliest works—an altar-piece at the cathedral, divided into various compartments, like those of the fourteenth century, and with the gildings so much applauded during that century. Vercelli has, in the church of St. Mark, a copy of the cartoon of S. Anna, to which are added St. Joseph and some other Saint—a youthful effort like the other, and one which proves that Gaudenzio had betimes turned his eyes towards Leonardo; from whom, according to Vasari, he derived great advantage. While still a young man he went to Rome, where it is said he became one of Raphael's coadjutors; and from whence he brought back with him a style more elevated in design and more attractive in colouring than any thing to be found among the Milanese. Lomazzo (whose verdict Scannelli condemns) eulogizes him as one of the greatest painters the world has ever seen—unjustly omitting Coreggio. For, whoever compares the cupola of S. Giovanni at Parma with that of S. Maria near Sarono, painted by Gaudenzio about the same time, will find in the former a degree of beauty and perfection not to be met with in the latter. Indeed, though this latter abounds with figures whose beauty, variety, and attitudes we cannot but commend, it nevertheless exhibits, like certain other of Gaudenzio's works, some vestiges of the old style;—a dryness of manner, for example; a too stiff and symmetrical arrangement of the figures; Angels, whose drapery is sometimes in the style of Mantegna; and here and there a figure executed, for the sake of relief, in stucco, and then coloured—a plan which he pursued elsewhere in the trappings of horses and other accessories, after the manner of Montorfano.

With the exception of these defects, which he wholly avoided in his more matured works, Gaudenzio is a painter of very distinguished merit, and, among the coadjutors of Raphael, is the one that makes the nearest approach to Perino and Giulio Romano. He, too, displays a most portentous fertility of fancy, though differing in kind from that of Giulio; the latter having employed himself principally on profane and lascivious subjects, while Gaudenzio devoted himself to those of a religious character; seeming to be endowed with a faculty almost unique, of expressing the majesty of the Divine Being, the mysteries of religion, the outward marks of devotion. His *forte* lay in the developement of strong character; for though he was not apt to display much prominence of muscle, he was, to use Vasari's words, fond of singular attitudes—attitudes of a fierce and terrific character, wherever the subject required them. Such was his picture of Christ's Passion, in the Grazie, at Milan, where he had Titian for his competitor; and the Conversion of St. Paul, in the possession of the Conventuals at Vercelli; a work more like that of M. Angelo in the Pauline Chapel than any I have ever seen. In his other works also he delights in difficult foreshortenings, and introduces them continually. If he does not equal Raphael in grace and beauty, he still displays the same character in no small degree, as in the church of St. Christopher at Vercelli; where, besides the picture of St. Christopher himself, he has depicted on the walls various pieces relative to our Saviour, and certain others relative to Mary Magdalene.

To come now to other peculiarities observable in his style: Ferrari, contrary to the usual practice of the Milanese, displays such vivacity and sprightliness of colouring, that in some of the churches where he has painted, there is no need to ask for his pictures; they invite and rivet the eye of the spectator at once, by flesh colours that are true to nature, and as diversified as their subjects, and drapery full of fancy and novelty, and exhibiting all the variety to be found in the different kinds of cloth.

Still better, however, if we may be allowed to say so, did he succeed in depicting the mind than the body. This is one of the departments of art to which he paid most attention: in the works of few others do we meet with more eloquent gestures or more expressive heads. And, if at any time he embellishes his historical pieces with landscape or architecture, the landscape is accompanied, for the most part, by views of fantastic rocks, that delight us by their very novelty; while the architectural decorations are executed with a scrupulous attention to the truth of the perspective. This great man was either very little known by Vasari, or held in very little estimation by him; whence foreigners, who are apt to measure a man's merit by the figure he makes in history, are but little acquainted with him, and in their writings have almost wholly passed him over in silence*.

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* Lomazzo, of whom Lanzi gives some account under this epoch, is more known by his works on painting than by his pictures.

Milanese School.

EPOCH III.

THE PROCACCINI AND OTHER PAINTERS, AS WELL OF OTHER STATES AS OF MILAN, ESTABLISHED THERE A NEW ACADEMY AND NEW STYLES.

THE best among the followers of Da Vinci and Ferrari adopted, more or less, the new styles which, to the prejudice of the old, from time to time found their way into Milan. As early as Gaudenzio's time, Titian's Crown of Thorns had been received with much applause at Milan; whence some of his scholars went and established themselves there, and these were followed by artists from other places. To this we may add the misfortunes which befell the state, especially the plague, which afflicted it more than once during the same century; by which the native artists being carried off, strangers entered upon the tasks in which they had been engaged, as they would upon an inheritance void by the death of the original heir. The princely disposition of certain noble families, especially the Borromean family, contributed not a little to attract strangers. Many were the edifices erected or repaired by order of Charles and Frederick Borromée; many were the edifices both in the city and elsewhere, that were by their means decorated with paintings; insomuch that it might with truth be said, that Milan was no less indebted to the Borromean princes, than was Florence to her Medici, or Mantua to her Gonzaghi. Not content with employing on the public works the ablest architects, sculptors, and painters that were to be met with, Frederick Borromée raked together the few surviving embers, as it were, of Da Vinci's Academy, and, by vigorous efforts and at great expense, enriched

the city with a new academy of the fine arts. Hence, the Milanese artists having been previously reduced to a small number, and the demand for painters to decorate the churches and other public edifices which were now springing up having increased, other styles were introduced into Milan by strangers, such as the Campi, the Semini, the Procaccini, the Nuvoloni, &c. To these nearly all the young artists of Milan and its dependencies were indebted for instruction; these men, beginning their career in that city about 1570, and continuing to work there even till after the year 1600, surpassed the old schools not so much by the soundness of their maxims, as by the charms of their colouring; and at length by degrees extinguished them.

The Campi were among the most solicitous to bring themselves into notice at Milan, and executed a great many works there; Bernardino more than any of the others. Subsequently the two Semini of Genoa made their appearance at Milan; where they also produced a considerable number of paintings, both of them imitating the Roman style more than that of any other school. But they who at that time both painted most themselves, and reared the greatest number of pupils at Milan, were the Procaccini of Bologna.

Ercole Procaccini is the head of this family. At Milan there exist a good many works of his, by which we may be enabled to decide for ourselves whether most credit is due to Malvasia and Baldinucci, who describe him as "a painter of moderate talents;" or to Lomazzo, who styles him "a most happy imitator of the great Coreggio's colouring and gracefulness." To say the truth, as far as my judgment goes, he betrays, in some degree, a littleness of design, and, after the manner of the Florentines, a feebleness of colouring; a defect so common with the artists of that period, that I see not how it can be charged upon him alone. For the rest, he evinces a gracefulness, accuracy, and exactness to be found in few of his contemporaries; nor is it improbable that this excessive diligence of

his, in a city where the expeditious Fontana bore undisputed sway, may have been an obstacle in his way. But this quality, besides causing him to steer clear of mannerism, to which the age was but too prone, tended also to make him an excellent master; whose main task consists in curbing the impatience and impetuosity of youth, and habituating them to precision and delicacy of finish. Hence from his school there proceeded several eminent painters, a Samacchini, a Sabbattini, a Bertoia. He also initiated in the art his three sons, Camillo, Giulio Cesare, and Carlo Antonio, the father of Ercole Procaccini the younger; each of whom formed pupils among the Milanese youth.

Camillo Procaccini is the only one of the three brothers who was known to Lomazzo, by whom he is described as one eminently skilled in design and colouring. He imbibed the first rudiments of art from his father, of whom he often reminds us in his heads and the distribution of his colours. He afterwards inspected the productions of other schools; and, if we are to credit certain biographers, exercised himself at Rome in copying the works of M. Angelo and Raphael; but, for his heads, he more especially studied Parmigianino, of whom we may discern marks of imitation in every one of his works. He was endowed with extraordinary facility both of invention and execution: his works, too, display an air of nature, a grace, a spirit, that fails not to please the eye, although it does not always satisfy the judgment. Nor is this to be wondered at; he having from the very first freed himself from the restraint imposed by his father's system of education, and executed at Bologna, Ravenna, Reggio, Placentia, Pavia, and Genoa, works enough for any ten painters; whence he was by many denominated the Vasari and the Zuccaro of Lombardy; though, to say the truth, he surpasses them in sweetness of style and beauty of colouring. Milan, however, was the chief scene of his labours; and that city possesses many of his best works, with which he there brought

himself into repute, as well as many of his worst, with which he gratified those who were taken with his fame.

Giulio Cesare Procaccini—the most celebrated of the Procaccini—after having for some time cultivated sculpture, and not without considerable success, turned his attention to painting, as the more respectable and less laborious pursuit. At Bologna he attended the school of the Caracci; and it is said, that, having been offended by some cutting observation of Annibale's, he struck him a severe blow. Giulio's time, however, was more especially devoted to the study of Coreggio's works, and, in the opinion of many, no one succeeded better in imitating his noble style. In cabinet pictures and those that contain few figures, where such imitation is a matter of less difficulty, he has often been confounded with Coreggio himself; although the gracefulness of Giulio's style is not so natural and easy as that of his model, nor the laying on of his colours so strong and vigorous. He left behind him a great number of historical pieces, as the Passage of the Red Sea, in S. Vittore, at Milan, and still more at Genoa, which have been noticed by Soprani; and what, considering their number, is matter of surprise, he displays exactness of design, fertility of fancy, together with considerable skill in anatomy and in the disposition of the drapery; taking care to accompany the whole with an elevation of manner, which, unless I am much mistaken, he derived from the Caracci.

Carlantonio Procaccini.—To these two we must add Carlantonio Procaccini, not as an historical, but as a landscape painter, and one who was in considerable repute for the representation of fruits and flowers. Of these he painted not a few for the different collections at Milan; and these having been approved of at the court, which at that time was Spanish, he received a great many orders for Spain itself; whence, though he was the worst painter of the family, he became the most known.

The Procaccini opened a school at Milan, and had the repu-

tation of being kind and attentive masters, insomuch that they reared in that city and the surrounding territory such a multitude of pupils, that it would be hopeless as well as useless to attempt to give an account of them all.

The last among the strangers who taught at Milan was *Panfilo Nuvolone*, of Cremona, one who was more remarkable for diligence than fertility of fancy. In his altar-pieces, as well as other historical works which he painted for the Ducal gallery at Parma, he aimed rather at perfecting his figures than at multiplying their number.

Daniele Crespi is one of those illustrious Italians who are scarcely known beyond the limits of their native place. He was a man of rare genius, who, having been placed first under the care of Cerano, next under that of Giulio Cesare Procaccini, beyond all doubt surpassed the former, and, as many will have it, the latter also; though he died before he had completed his fortieth year. Endowed with great quickness of penetration and facility of execution, he had the tact to imitate what was best and avoid what was less commendable in his master's style. It is probable, too, that having made himself acquainted with the maxims of the Caracci, though without attending their school, he adopted and practised them with success. So far as regards the distribution of the colours, he imitates them closely; he displays variety, but, at the same time, choice in the style of his heads; taking care to suit the attitude to the emotion intended to be expressed; succeeding more especially in investing the heads of his Saints with an air of virtue and devotion. In the grouping of his figures he adopts a plan so natural, and yet so judicious, that not one of them could well change its place: the drapery is well diversified, and, in the figures of the opulent, very costly. His colouring, both in his oil-paintings and frescos, is remarkable for its vigour. He is one of those rare painters who are continually vieing with themselves; doing his utmost that each succeeding work may surpass his previous efforts. The

defects discoverable in his earlier works are corrected in his later performances; and the great qualities which in the former seem to be just developing themselves, in the latter appear matured and brought to perfection*.

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* The more eminent of the painters omitted under this epoch are, Pierfrancesco Mazzuchelli, denominated, from the name of the place where he was born, Morazzone—and Gio. Batista Crespi, who, for the same reason, was called Cerano. Under the fourth epoch of the Milanese school, which is here altogether omitted, there occur no names of any great note; " Daniel Crespi having been (as Lanzi expresses it) the last of the Milanese, just as Cato was said to have been the last of the Romans."

Bolognese School.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

We have already observed, in the course of this work, that pre-eminence in painting, no less than pre-eminence in letters and arms, has successively fallen to the lot of different states; and wherever the art has fixed its seat, some branch of it, that was less understood or less attended to by preceding painters, has been brought to perfection. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, there was no longer any species of beauty, or any aspect under which it could appear, to which some great master had not addressed himself, and of which he had not given a representation; so that the artist, whether he liked it or not, while he sought to imitate nature, was constrained at the same time to imitate the best masters; the formation of a new style consisting thenceforth only in a skilful adaptation of the older methods. Thus imitation was now become the sole means of attaining to distinction; as it appeared impossible to design figures in a more masterly manner than Bonarruoti or Da Vinci, to invest them with more grace than Raphael, to colour them more to the life than Titian, to impart to them more fire and animation than Tintoretto, to set them off with richer decoration than Paolo Veronese, or to present them to the eye at every degree of distance, and under every aspect, with greater skill and roundness, and a more enchanting effect, than had already been done by Coreggio. Accordingly, the path of imitation was at that time pursued by every school; though, to say the truth, with very little judgment. Every school was in a manner the slave of its founder; and had no idea of distinguishing itself in any

department but that in which he had surpassed all others. With these servile imitators, distinction, even in this respect, consisted in nothing more than constantly copying the same figures, and executing them in a more hasty and capricious manner, or, at least, introducing them on improper occasions. In every one of their pictures, the followers of Raphael carried the ideal style to excess; the followers of Michael Angelo, the anatomical; while uncalled-for vivacity and unnecessary foreshortening reappeared in every historical piece of the Venetian and Lombard painters, even where the subject was of the sedatest kind.

There were, as we have already had occasion to observe of every school, some few who rose above the prejudices of the times, and, so to speak, lifted their heads above the mists that then obscured Italy; studying the masters of different states for the purpose of culling what was best in each: above all, the Campi of Cremona set a commendable example in this respect. But these artists, unequal in acquirements and talent, divided into different schools, disunited by private interests, accustomed to guide their pupils only in the same path they pursued themselves, and, moreover, always confined within the limits of their native province, afforded no instruction to the rest of Italy, or at least did not disseminate the method of a correct and judicious style of imitation. This was an honour reserved for Bologna, whose destiny was said to be teaching, as governing was said to be the destiny of Rome; and it was the work, not of an academy, but of a single family. The Caracci, rich in genius, united in their efforts, and eager in their pursuit of the secrets rather than the profits of painting, hit upon the true method of imitation; disseminating it at first over the neighbouring Romagna, and thence communicating it to the rest of Italy, where, in the course of a short time, it spread from sea to sea. The great principle they inculcated was, that the painter should divide his attention between nature and art, keeping each of them in view in its turn: and that, according to his natural talent and peculiar dis-

position, he should select what was most commendable in both. Thus the Bolognese school, which was the last in rising to eminence, became the first in the art of teaching, and, after having been the pupil of all, proceeded to give lessons to all; producing, in the sequel, a number of styles, (that may in some sort be called original,) as great as was the number of the Caracci and their scholars.

Franco Bolognese.—Oderigi d'Agubbio, celebrated for his illuminations*, I may refer to the school of Bologna, probably as a pupil, certainly as a master; and, according to Vellutello, as the master of Franco Bolognese. Franco is the first of the Bolognese artists who formed any considerable number of pupils; and is, as it were, the Giotto of this school. He is, however, not a little inferior to the Florentine Giotto, so far as we can judge from the few remaining works of his to be seen in the Malvezzi collection. The best authenticated piece is a figure of the Virgin seated on a throne, and bearing the date 1313—a work that may be compared to the performances of Cimabue and Guido da Siena. To him also are ascribed two very pretty little pictures and other illuminations of the like kind.

The best of Franco's scholars were, according to Malvasia, Vitale da Bologna, Lorenzo, Simone dai Crocifissi, Jacopo Avanzi, and a certain Cristoforo; the fresco paintings of which artists are still to be seen at the Madonna di Mezzaratta. This church is with respect to the Bolognese school what the Campo Santo of Pisa is with regard to the Florentine—an arena where

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* Oh! dissi lui, non se' tu Oderisi,
L'onor d'Agubbio, e l'onor di quell' arte
Che alluminar è chiamata a Parisi?
Frate, diss' egli, più ridon le carte
Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese;
L'onor è tutto or suo, é mio in parte.

DANTE.

the best artists of the fourteenth century, who flourished in those parts, wrought in competition with each other. They have not the simplicity, the elegance, the grouping, which constitute the merit of the *Giotteschi;* but they evince a degree of fancy, a fire, a method of colouring, which Bonarruoti and the Caracci, considering the time at which they lived, thought by no means contemptible; on the contrary, when these pictures began to exhibit symptoms of decay, they advised and promoted their restoration. Hence, in the above-mentioned church, there were painted at various times historical pieces from the Old and New Testament, not only by the aforesaid scholars of Franco, but by Galasso of Ferrara, and an unknown imitator of Giotto's style, whom Lamo, in his manuscript, maintains to be Giotto himself.

Lippo di Dalmasio.—From Vitale's school proceeded Lippo di Dalmasio, denominated Lippo dalle Madonne. His style differs not from that of most of the old masters, except perhaps in the better blending of the colours, and the better disposition of the drapery; to which, however, he adds very deep gilt borders, as was everywhere the fashion about the beginning of the fourteenth century. His heads are of a beautiful and peculiar character, especially in certain of his Madonnas, which Guido Reni was never tired of contemplating; being accustomed to say, that Lippo was possessed of an almost supernatural faculty of combining, in the same countenance, the majesty, the sanctity, and sweetness of disposition that became the Mother of the Incarnate Word; and that in this respect no modern had ever equalled him.

Marco Zoppo.—Subsequent to the year 1409, the date of the last of Lippo's performances, the Bolognese school somewhat declined. Not, however, but that there were still, so far as the times would permit, some tolerable painters in Bologna and throughout Romagna. But the one who forms an epoch in the school is Marco Zoppo, who, having studied under Lippo,

subsequently placed himself under the care of Squarcione. He also visited Venice, where he remained some time, and where he painted for the Osservanti of Pesaro a picture representing the Virgin seated on a throne, and accompanied by John the Baptist, St. Francis, and other Saints; adding this inscription: "Marco Zoppo da Bologna dip: in Vinexia 1471." This is the largest of his works that has come down to us; and from this and some few other pieces to be found in that church, and at Bologna, we may form an idea of his style. Their composition is the same as prevails in the works of the artists of the fourteenth century, (especially the Venetians,) which he probably introduced into Bologna; where it lasted till the time of Francia and his schôol, with scarcely any variation; save that now and then an Angel was represented on the steps of the throne, sometimes with a lyre, sometimes without. This style has not the light elegance observable in Mantegna's; on the contrary, it inclines rather to the homely, especially in the drawing of the feet: it is, however, less rectilinear and more easy in the folds of the drapery; and perhaps more harmonious in the choice of the colours. The parts of the body exposed to view are as studiously designed as in the works of Signorelli, or any other painter of that age; and the figures themselves, as well as the accessories, are executed with the utmost care.

Francesco Francia distinguished himself greatly in that style which is denominated the modern antique; as is observable in very many collections, where his Madonnas are placed beside those of Pietro Perugino and Gian Bellini. His manner holds, as it were, a middle course between that of those two masters, partaking of them both. In choice, and the character of the colouring, it approaches Pietro's style; while in the fulness of the contours, and the dexterous management and ample folds of the drapery, it is more nearly allied to that of Bellini. In the heads it does not come up to the sweetness and gracefulness observable in those of the former; but it is more dignified, as

well as more diversified, than that of the latter. It emulates them both in the accessories of landscape; though, in this respect, and in splendour of architectural ornament, it falls short of them. In the composition of a picture, it delights to place the Infant Saviour, not so much in the lap of the Virgin, as in another plane—a practice of ancient date in this school—adding now and then a half-length figure of some Saint, after the manner of the Venetians of that period. Upon the whole, however, it approaches nearer to the Roman school; and the fact recorded by Malvasia—that his Madonnas are by the uninitiated ascribed to Pietro Perugino—is by no means of rare occurrence. At Bologna there were also some of his frescos, of which Vasari speaks with commendation; and there, as well as elsewhere, many altar-pieces of his still exist, containing figures of a larger make than those usually found in Bellini's and Perugino's works —a peculiarity which was long a distinguishing merit of the Bolognese school.

Ansovino da Forli, commonly called *Melozzo*.—Doubts have arisen in my mind as to whether Squarcione really was the master of Melozzo, a name held in high veneration by the profession, he having been the first to set the example of foreshortening on ceilings; an art known by the name of *di sotto in su*, and the most difficult and rigorous within the whole compass of painting. In perspective, after the time of Paolo Uccello, considerable progress had been made by means of Piero della Francesca, a celebrated geometrician, and by certain Lombard painters; but the art of painting ceilings with the delightful illusion afterwards introduced was an honour reserved for Melozzo. His style, all things considered, approaches nearer to that of Mantegna and the Paduan school than to that of any other: the heads, in point of shape, colouring, and movement, have considerable merit, and are nearly all of them foreshortened: due care is evinced in the gradation of the lights, and the proper introduction of the shadows, so that the figures may be

well rounded, and, as it were, appear endowed with motion: there is also an air of dignity and grandeur in the principal figure and the white robe that envelopes it; together with a delicacy of pencilling, a finish, and gracefulness in every part*.

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* The more distinguished of those omitted under this epoch are—Lorenzo Costa, the two Aspertini, Chiodarolo, Niccolò Rondinelli, the two Cotignola, and Palmegiani.

Bolognese School.

EPOCH II.

ITS DIFFERENT STYLES, FROM THE TIME OF FRANCIA DOWN TO THAT OF THE CARACCI.

WHILE, after the discovery of the modern style, the other schools of Italy were proceeding to cultivate it, by following each of them some leader of its own, the Bolognese painters, not having any one from whom they could learn it in their native place, either betook themselves to other places, for the purpose of acquainting themselves with it under the actual instruction of living masters; or, if they remained at home, strove to acquire it from such strangers as had either wrought there, or, at least, sent thither specimens of their works*.

Bagnacavallo.—The first to introduce the modern style at Bologna were—Bartolommeo Ramenghi, (from the name of his native place denominated Bagnacavallo,) and Innocenzio Francucci da Imola. Bagnacavallo had wrought at Rome under Raphael, and certainly not without advantage. He had not Giulio's or Perino's depth of design, but in his style of colouring he approached, and perhaps equalled them; while, in the gracefulness of his heads, those at least of an infantine character, he

* Besides the St. Cecilia of Raphael, Bologna could then boast Giulio Romano's St. John and Garofalo's Zacharias. Parmigianino had left behind him his St. Roch and his St. Margaret, which rank among his happiest performances. Girolamo da Carpi, Niccolò Abati, Girolamo da Trevigi, and Tommaso Laureti, had also made some stay at Bologna. And the same may be said of Boldraffio, a scholar of Da Vinci's, as well as of M. Angelo himself, and his imitator Vasari.

surpassed them. In the composition of his pictures he took Raphael for his model; as is evident from the celebrated Dispute of St. Augustine at the Scopetini, where we recognise the principles observable in the school of Athens, and in other copious and celebrated works of Raphael's. Indeed, Bagnacavallo, in the subjects which he handled, not unfrequently contented himself with merely copying Raphael, affirming that it was madness to attempt to do better.

Innocenzio, a native of Imola, resided almost constantly at Bologna, and entered Francia's school in the year 1506; though we must not from thence infer with Malvasia, that he did not spend some years at Florence in company with Albertinelli. Vasari asserts that he did, and his style, which resembles that of the more eminent Florentines of the period in question, corroborates the assertion. He executed a good many altar-pieces, composing them in the manner of those of the fourteenth century, but, after the example of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, placing the Virgin aloft, divested of the gilt borders and glories in vogue among the old masters, and grouping and disposing the accompanying Saints with admirable skill; displaying, too, some degree of novelty in the way in which he distributed the attendant Angels, which were ranged upon the steps or poised in the air. Into his altar-pieces he sometimes used to introduce small historical subjects, as in that at S. Giacomo di Bologna, where at the foot of the picture he painted a Cratch, very much in the style of Raphael. This, indeed, was the style to which he always aspired, and to which he made nearer approaches than very many even of Raphael's scholars themselves. In point of keeping, majesty, and correctness, he is considered superior to Francia and Bagnacavallo. I am not aware that he ever produced works of any great novelty, or possessing much fire and animation; nor, indeed, could such works be much adapted to the nature of his genius, which all accounts describe as of a quiet and placid character.

Primaticcio.—The fame of the two masters above recorded did not at that time reach far beyond the limits of their native place, being eclipsed by that of many other contemporaries, who were then looked upon as the great luminaries of art; among these was Giulio Romano. The repute in which Giulio was held attracted to Mantua Francesco Primaticcio, who had been initiated in design by Innocenzio, in colouring by Bagnacavallo. Under Giulio Romano he acquired a taste for large historical pieces and compositions on a grand scale, as well as for those decorations in wood and stucco fitted only for a palace. Thus, having studied for six years at Mantua, he was sent by Giulio into France, to Francis I.; and though Rosso of Florence had already arrived there a year before him, and produced various works there, nevertheless, according to Vasari, "the first stuccos, as well as the first frescos of any consequence, that were executed in France, took their rise from Primaticcio." His performances in that country are described by Felibien; who says of him in a strain of panegyric, that " the French painters are indebted to Primaticcio and M. Niccolò (dell' Abate) for many beautiful works, and we may fairly assert that they were the first to introduce into France the Roman style, and an idea of the beauties of the painting and sculpture of the ancients."

Tibaldi.—Pellegrino Pellegrini, from his father's name denominated Tibaldi, seems to have been born under the same star as Primaticcio and l'Abati: he was a native of Valdelsa in the Milanese; but passed his childhood and youth at Bologna. He did at the court of Spain what the two preceding artists did at that of France; he embellished that court with paintings, as well as contributed to improve its taste in architecture: there, too, he formed pupils, and from thence he brought back wealth enough to enable him to purchase the Marquisate of Valdelsa, where his father and his uncle, previous to their going to Bologna, had lived in poverty as common masons. It is not known from whom this great man derived the first rudiments of

art. Vasari will have it, that he was indebted for them to the paintings in the refectory of S. Michele in Bosco, which, while still a youth, Tibaldi copied, together with other choice works at Bologna. After that, he makes him arrive in Rome in the year 1547, for the purpose of studying the best works to be found there; and, after a residence of three years in that city, makes him return to Bologna, still a young man, but a proficient in art. His style was in great measure formed after the model of M. Angelo's, exhibiting the same grandeur, the same skill in anatomy, the same vigour, and the same felicity of foreshortening; but, at the same time, attempered with such a degree of softness, that the Caracci used to call him—*Michael Angelo reformed.* In the Institute at Bologna is the first work that he executed there after the year 1550, the best, in the judgment of Vasari, that he ever produced. It consists chiefly of subjects taken from the Odyssey. But whatever commendation Vasari may have bestowed on this work, the Caracci, whose opinion ought to have greater weight, have led us to think still more highly of Tibaldi's paintings at S. Jacopo—paintings which both they and their scholars studied with the greatest assiduity.

Fontana.—While the three great masters already mentioned continued to reside, the two first in France, the third at Milan and subsequently in Spain, the art, instead of advancing, rather retrograded at Bologna. Fontana, whose long life took in the whole period of which we are treating, and even extended beyond it, was born during the life-time of Francia. Educated by Imola, who at his death made choice of him to finish one of his altar-pieces; becoming afterwards, and for a considerable time, the assistant of Vaga and Vasari; he continued constantly employed, either executing works of his own or instructing his scholars, till the Caracci, who had at one time been his disciples, stripped him both of orders and of followers. For this he was indebted to nobody but himself. Devoted to pleasure, (the deadliest foe to the reputation of an artist,) he had no means of in-

dulging his fondness for it but by undertaking more than he could do, and executing his paintings in a slovenly manner. He was blessed with a fertility of fancy, a boldness of temper, and an extent of information, well calculated to fit him for works on a large scale. Hence renouncing Francucci's careful finishing, he adopted Vasari's method, and, like him, painted a great many walls in a very short space of time, and nearly all of them in the same style. His design betrays greater negligence than Vasari's, his attitudes have more fire and animation, while his colours present the same yellowish and unbroken appearance; though they evince a somewhat greater degree of delicacy. His chief merit lay in portrait painting, and the portraits of his to be seen in different collections are even now more prized than are his historical pieces in the different churches. It was in consequence of this talent, that Bonarruoti presented him to Julius III., by whom he was rewarded with a pension. He was also employed by the three Pontiffs who succeeded next after Julius, and was looked upon as the best portrait painter of his time.

Lorenzo Sabbatini, styled also Lorenzino of Bologna, was one of the most graceful and finished painters of his day. In the different collections, I have sometimes heard him ranked, by the keepers, among the scholars of Raphael; led into this error by his Holy Families, of which the design and composition are in the best style of the Roman school; although the colouring is invariably more feeble. I have, however, seen figures of the Virgin, as well as Angels, of his, in cabinet pictures, that might pass for the work of Parmigianino; and the same manner he adopted in his altar-pieces. He was also distinguished as a fresco painter; displaying correctness of design, fertility of invention, universality of subject, and, what is more surprising, extraordinary rapidity of execution. In consequence of these merits, he was not only employed by many noble families at Bologna, but on going to Rome, as Baglione will have it, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII., he was held in great repute

in that city: even his naked figures were highly applauded; though, while at Bologna, he had paid but little attention to this branch of art. In the Pauline Chapel he represented some passages of the life of St. Paul; in the Sala Regia, Faith triumphant over Infidelity; in the *Galleria* and the *Loggie*, various other subjects, always in competition with the best masters, and always with applause. Thus amidst the multitude of artists who at that time flocked to Rome from every quarter, he was selected to preside over the decorations of the Vatican; in which employ he died in 1577, in the vigour of his age.

Orazio Samacchini, the contemporary and intimate friend of Sabbatini, and one who survived him but a short time, began by imitating Pellegrino and the Lombard masters. Repairing afterwards to Rome, and getting employed on the paintings of the Sala Regia, he distinguished himself in the Roman style, and gained the applause of Vasari, as well as afterwards of Borghini and Lomazzo. In this new style, however, he satisfied every one else better than himself, and on his return to Bologna used to regret that he ever quitted Upper Italy, where he might have carried to perfection the method he first pursued, without seeking for one more modern. He had, however, good reason to be satisfied with the one that he adopted; made up as it was of so many different styles, and so modified by his own genius, that it exhibits in every feature much of the novel and singular. The Purification at S. Jacopo is an exquisite performance; where the principal figures enchant us by an expression of piety at once tender and elevated; while the children who stand prattling beside the altar, and the damsel who is seen holding the two doves in a little basket, and watching them so narrowly, ravish us by their simplicity and grace. The only fault connoisseurs have been able to find with it, is the excessive diligence it betrays; the execution and completion of this work having occupied him for several years. He is thought to have evinced most aptitude for copious frescos, on which he imprinted,

as it were, the stamp of a genius at once comprehensive, ardent, and expeditious, without giving way to those subsequent alterations and corrections, with which, as we have seen, he used to torture his oil paintings.

Bartolommeo Passerotti was endowed with an extraordinary talent for designing with the pen, a talent which attracted Agostino Caracci to his school, and which served as a guide to the latter in the art of engraving. He also composed a book, of which the subject was to teach so much of the structure and anatomy of the human frame as might be requisite for a painter; and he it was who, to display his knowledge in this respect, set the example at Bologna of giving variety to altar-pieces by the introduction of naked *torsos*. Among these the best were—the Beheading of St. Paul at the Three Fountains in Rome—and the Virgin accompanied by various Saints, in the church of S. Giacomo at Bologna; a work painted in competition with the Caracci, and honoured with their applause. A Tizio of his was also celebrated, and when exhibited to the public was, by the Bolognese artists, taken for a work of M. Angelo's. It was not often that he took such exquisite pains; he kept, for the most part, to the easy and the free, somewhat resembling Cesari, though more correct. In portrait painting, however, he is above the common run. In this department of art Guido ranked him among the greatest painters after Titian, not considering him to have been inferior to the Caracci themselves; to whom, indeed, Passerotti's portraits in different collections are sometimes ascribed.

Dionysius Calvart, a native of Antwerp, repaired to Bologna in early youth, with some reputation for landscape; and, with a view to historical painting, attended first Fontana's school, and next that of Sabbatini, to whom he was of considerable use in the decorations of the Vatican. Quitting him also, and employing himself for a very short period in designing Raphael's pictures, he returned to Bologna, opened a studio there, and edu-

cated no less than a hundred and thirty-seven scholars, some of whom turned out admirable painters. Calvart himself was an eminent painter for that age; well versed in perspective, which he had acquired from Fontana, and correct and graceful in design, after the manner of Sabbatini. He was also a good colourist in the Flemish style; a quality for which the Bolognese looked upon him as one of the restorers of their school, which in this branch of the art was then on the decline. If there was any thing of mannerism in his style, any thing unbecoming or exaggerated in the action of his figures, the one is imputable to the age in which he lived, the other to his own temper, which all accounts describe as in the highest degree turbulent and fiery. The different galleries abound with little pictures of his on subjects from the New Testament, painted for the most part on copper: they charm us by the multitude of the figures, and the richness of the colouring. Orders for pictures of this kind were then very frequent at Bologna; and were commonly given by newly professed nuns, who were in the habit of taking such little pictures with them to their convent, for the purpose of decorating their cells. Calvart used to make his scholars take copies of these, and then retouching them himself, met with a very ready sale for them in Italy and Flanders. Those copied for him by Albani and Guido, who were at one time his scholars, are the most pleasing of all; and are distinguishable by their superior merit, as well as by a somewhat greater boldness and facility of touch. Among the most celebrated of his altar-pieces are—the St. Michael in the church of S. Petronio—and the Purgatory alle Grazie; from which, and certain others, the best of the *Caracceschi* acknowledged they derived considerable advantage.

Bartolommeo Cesi must also be ranked among those eminent masters who paved the way for the improved style of the Caracci. From him Tiarini acquired the art of fresco-painting, and from his works it was that Guido first caught the idea of striking out his own sweet and graceful style. On observing a picture of

Cesi's, one is sometimes led to doubt whether it is not one of the earlier works of Guido. He evinces but little boldness of manner; copying every thing from nature, selecting the best forms at every period of life, and investing them but sparingly with ideal beauties: his drapery is somewhat scanty, his attitudes measured, his colouring graceful rather than strong. He was esteemed by the Caracci, and was a general favourite with the profession for the integrity of his character and the love he bore the art*.

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* Of the other painters of this epoch, the best were—Gio. Batista Cremonini, Cesare Baglione, and Luca Longhi.

Bolognese School.

EPOCH III.

THE CARACCI AND THEIR PUPILS.

To write the history of the Caracci and their followers is almost the same thing as to write the history of Italian painting in general for the last two centuries. In the foregoing sections we have taken a survey of almost every school; and in most of them, sooner or later, have found either the Caracci themselves, their scholars, or at least their successors, engaged in overthrowing the ancient maxims, and introducing new ones in their stead; insomuch that he who could not in some respect or other be called a follower of the Caracci seemed scarcely to merit the name of painter. Now, as it is gratifying to the traveller, after having long followed the course of some noble river, to trace it upward to its source; so, I trust, it will not be unacceptable to the reader to be made acquainted with the principles from which this new style derived its origin, and owing to which it in a short time overran every other school. What to me seems most surprising in the matter is, that this style should have originated with Lodovico Caracci, a young man, who, during his earlier years, appeared to be slow of understanding, and fitter to grind colours than to harmonise and apply them. Fontana, whose pupil he was at Bologna, and Tintoretto, under whom he studied at Venice, advised him, as one altogether unqualified for painting, to change his profession: his fellow-scholars, taunting him with this slowness of understanding, invariably applied to him the epithet of the Ox: every thing tended to dishearten him: he did not, however, suffer himself to be discouraged, and, so far from being dismayed by the difficulties he encountered, took

them as a motive for increased exertion. His slowness, indeed, was the effect of deep penetration rather than of a confined understanding; he dreaded the ideal style as a rock on which so many of his contemporaries had made shipwreck; in every object nature was what he had in view; he exacted from himself a reason for every line he drew; considering it the duty of a youthful artist to aim invariably at excellence, till excellence becomes habitual, and thus paves the way for expedition.

Fixed in his purpose, therefore, as at Bologna he had studied the best masters among his fellow-countrymen, so at Venice he adopted Titian and Tintoretto as his models: from Venice he proceeded to Florence, and improved his taste by observing the pictures of Andrea, and listening to the instructions of Passignano. The Florentine school had then reached that crisis which we have already described in treating of its fourth epoch. Nothing could be more advantageous to the youthful Lodovico than to witness there the wranglings between the partizans of the old and the followers of the new style; nor could he anywhere have met with a better opportunity than those bickerings afforded him of penetrating into the causes of the decline of painting and the means of effecting its restoration. These circumstances, though hitherto but little noticed, were of no small assistance to him in his attempts to bring about a reformation and improvement in the art. The best of the Florentine artists, with a view to improve upon the languid colouring of their masters, had turned their attention to the works of Coreggio and his followers; and their example, I suspect, induced Lodovico to leave Florence and repair to Parma, where, observes his biographer, he devoted all his time to the studying of the performances of that master and those of Parmigianino. On his return to Bologna, though well received and looked upon as an accomplished painter, he found nevertheless that a single individual, especially one so reserved and cautious as himself, could ill contend against an entire school; unless, doing as Cigoli had done

at Florence, he could form a party amongst the rising generation at Bologna.

This he sought to form, in the first instance, among his own relatives. His brother Paolo cultivated painting, but was very deficient in judgment and ability, and fit for nothing else but to execute in a tolerable manner the designs of others: of him, therefore, Lodovico made little account; but he entertained great hopes of two of his cousins. He had a paternal uncle named Antonio, a tailor by trade, who brought up his two sons, Agostino and Annibale, at home; and such was the talent these two evinced for design, that Lodovico, when he was now advanced in years, used to say, that, during the many years he had filled the office of a teacher, he had never had a single scholar to equal them. The former of these devoted himself to the goldsmith's art, which has ever been the school of the best engravers; the latter was at once the scholar and the assistant of his father in his calling. Though brothers, their dispositions and habits were so opposite, that they could not endure each other, and were little less than sworn foes. An accomplished scholar, Agostino was constantly to be seen in the company of the learned, nor was there any science on which he was not capable of conversing; at once a philosopher, a geometrician, and a poet; of polished manners, ready wit, and averse from the habits of the lower orders. Annibale, on the other hand, affected no learning beyond the mere ability to read and write: a certain innate churlishness inclined him to taciturnity; and whenever he was under the necessity of speaking, it was usually in a contemptuous, satirical, or quarrelsome tone.

At the advice of Lodovico, their attention being turned to the art of painting, they betrayed even here the difference of their dispositions. Agostino was naturally hesitating and fastidious, slow to resolve, and hard to please, and never met with a difficulty which he did not fairly face and set himself to overcome: Annibale, who, like a multitude of others, was quick in execu-

tion, impatient of speculation and delay, sought every means to evade the difficulties of art, to pursue the easier path, and produce a great deal in a short time. Had they fallen into other hands, Agostino would have become another Samacchini, Annibale another Passerotti; nor would painting by their means have made a single step in advance. But their wary cousin, to whose care they were committed, saw that it would be necessary to imitate Isocrates, who, while superintending the education of Ephorus and Theopompus, was wont to say, that with the one he employed the spur, with the other the rein. With the like view Lodovico consigned Agostino to the care of Fontana, a master whose mode of execution was rapid and unconstrained; retaining Annibale in his own studio, where works were finished with greater nicety. By these means, too, he managed to keep them apart, till time should, by degrees, extinguish the enmity subsisting between them, and convert it into friendship; when, devoted to the same pursuit, they should unite their powers, and each derive assistance from the other. In the course of a few years he found them sufficiently reconciled, and, in 1580, afforded them an opportunity of visiting Parma and Venice. During this visit, Agostino made considerable accessions to his various information; improved his design; and as, before he set out from Bologna, he had acquired some skill in the art of engraving under Domenico Tibaldi, so, at Venice, he made such rapid progress in it under Cort, that the latter, out of mere jealousy, dismissed him from his studio. But this dismissal came too late; Agostino was already looked upon as the Marc Antonio of his time. Annibale, now that he had but one occupation to attend to, turned all his thoughts, at Parma, and afterwards at Venice, to the art of painting; profiting both by the performances and the conversation of those illustrious men with whom at that time the Venetian school was thronged. It was then, or shortly afterwards, that he executed some most beautiful copies of Coreggio's, Titian's, and Paolo's works; as well as some little pieces of his own in the same

style. Of these I met with a few at Genoa, in the possession of the Marquis Durazzo, in different but very pleasing styles.

On their return to their native place, though now accomplished artists, they had for a long time to struggle against fortune. Their first works, representing certain portions of the story of Jason, on the frieze of the Casa Favi, although executed under the superintendence of Lodovico, were, by the older painters, treated with insufferable scorn, as deficient in accuracy and elegance. The repute in which these masters were held, men who had visited Rome, who were celebrated by poets, honoured with diplomas, and regarded by a degenerate age as the pillars of art, gave weight to their censures. Their disciples echoed their sayings, and the multitude repeated them; and the endless animadversions of a populace, whose commonest conversation is carried on with as much vivacity as a declamation or a dispute would be elsewhere, continually ringing in the ears of the Caracci, confounded and dismayed them. It is said, that Lodovico and Agostino were on the point of giving way to the current, and returning to the old style; but that Annibale dissuaded them from it, exhorting them to oppose works to words; or rather, to oppose to the works of the older masters, feeble and unnatural as they were, others that might have force and truth to recommend them. This advice was followed, and at length brought about the projected revolution: but in order to facilitate and accelerate it, it became necessary to win over to their party those youthful students who formed the hope of another and a more auspicious age. This the Caracci effected by opening an academy of painting, which they styled that of the *Incamminati*, furnishing it with casts, designs, and engravings, in as great abundance as those of their rivals; introducing into their plan a school for the study of the naked figure, as well as of perspective, anatomy, and every other requisite of the art; and conducting it with a judgment and kindliness of feeling, which could not fail, in a short time, to attract a crowd of pupils. Its success, too, may

in some measure be attributed to the violent temper of Dionysius Calvart, who used to beat his pupils unmercifully for the most trifling faults; insomuch that Guido, Albani, and Domenichino, betook themselves to the studio of the Caracci. Panico also left the school of Fontana in order to enter that of the Caracci; while the more promising youths flocked to it from all quarters, and gradually drew after them the common herd of students. At length every other academy was closed; every other school was transformed into a solitude; every other name gave place to the name of the Caracci; on them devolved the principal orders, to them was awarded the highest praise. Their humbled rivals now changed their tone; especially when the great saloon of the Magnani palace, that miracle of *Caraccescan* art, was thrown open to the admiring eyes of the public. It was then that Cesi declared himself a convert to the new style; it was then that Fontana lamented his advanced age precluded him from adopting it: Calvart alone, with his wonted arrogance, ventured to censure the work, and was the last to read his recantation, or at least to hold his tongue.

It is fit that we should here give some account of the system pursued, and the maxims held in a school, which, besides producing such illustrious pupils, contributed also to perfect their masters; it being an indisputable truth, that teaching is the shortest road to learning. The three cousins were unanimous in their design of imparting instruction without cupidity and without envy; but the most laborious parts of this duty devolved upon Agostino. He had put forth a short treatise on perspective and architecture; and on this he gave lectures in the school. He explained to his scholars the nature of the bones and the muscles, designating them by their respective names; in this he was assisted by one Lanzoni, an anatomist, who also secretly supplied the students with bodies for the purpose of making the necessary dissections. Agostino took his subjects sometimes from history, sometimes from fable; explaining them, and making

designs from them, which on certain days he exposed to view, and submitted to the opinion of competent judges, in order that they might decide on their respective merits; as appears from a note addressed to Cesi, one of those judges. By the fortunate candidates the glory of success was deemed a sufficient reward; poets assembled to sing their praises, while in the midst of them was seen Agostino celebrating with harp and voice the progress of his pupils. These latter were moreover initiated in the true principles of criticism: they were taught to observe the works of others, and mark whatever there was in them deserving of commendation or censure: their own works, too, were exposed to view, and did not escape animadversion whenever they deserved it; indeed, whenever any one could not give a satisfactory reason for what he had done, he had to cancel it on the spot. Every one was at liberty to pursue his own favourite path; nay, every one was expressly directed to that particular style to which the bent of his inclination led him; and hence it is that so many different styles proceeded from the same studio: each of them, however, was required to have for its basis, reason, nature, and imitation. Whenever there occurred any serious doubt, recourse was had to Lodovico's opinion; the daily exercises in design were superintended by his two cousins, young men remarkable for industry and application, and sworn foes to sloth. Even the recreations of the students were made subservient to the advancement of art: to draw landscapes, or to compose some caricature, were the usual occupations of Annibale and his pupils whenever they sought relaxation from severer studies.

The maxim of the Caracci, of combining an accurate observation of nature with a judicious imitation of all the best masters, constituted the leading principle of their school; although, as we have observed, they contrived to modify it according to their different dispositions. Their object was to bring into one view whatever they had met with most deserving of commendation in every other school; and in this they pursued two different

plans. In the first they followed the method of those poets, who in different *Canzoni* take different models for imitation; in one, for instance, borrowing from Petrarch, in another from Chiabrera, in a third from Frugoni. In the second they resemble those who, having mastered all the three styles, blend them together, and form out of them a sort of Corinthian metal compounded of various others. In like manner the Caracci used, in some of their compositions, to exhibit different styles in different figures. Thus, in the Preaching of John the Baptist, in the possession of the Certosini, (in which Crespi recognises evident traces of Paul Veronese's manner,) Lodovico has represented the hearers of the saint in such a way, that an experienced connoisseur distinguished them by the epithets of the *Raphael*, the *Titian*, and the *Tintoretto*, in consequence of the close resemblance they bore to the respective styles of those masters. Thus also Annibale, who for some time aimed only at imitating Coreggio, having at length adopted Lodovico's maxim, painted the famous altar-piece for the church of St. George; where, in the Blessed Virgin, he imitated Paul Veronese; while he took Coreggio for his model in the Infant Saviour and the little St. John, Titian in the St. John the Evangelist, and Parmigianino in his truly graceful St. Catherine. In general, however, they pursued the second method; and far more numerous are the examples that might be adduced of imitations less palpable, and less constrained than the above, and so blended and modified as to produce a whole perfectly original.

What the Caracci were at first most deficient in, was the imitation of the antique, which Agostino called the "disegno di Roma." Yet he and Annibale, during their residence in that city, foreigners as they were, in some sort reproduced it, and restored it to the Romans themselves; and even Lodovico, though he remained at Bologna, on more than one occasion shewed that he was not unacquainted with it. At first, observes Mengs, all three betrayed a strong predilection for Coreggio, in their full

contours and the general character of their design; though they did not, like him, maintain an exact equilibrium between the concave and the convex, for they chiefly affected the latter. There were some other points in which they did not strictly adhere to their model; not caring to foreshorten their heads, nor always to represent them with that simper so constantly exhibited by the Parmigianini, the Barocci, and the Vanni. They copied their heads from nature, investing them afterwards with the charms of ideal grace. Hence Annibale's Madonnas, of which there are so many of a small size on copper, display a sort of original gracefulness derived from his studies: the same may be said of Lodovico, who, in his more delicate heads, frequently gives us the portrait of a certain Giacomazzi, one of the beauties of that age. In the representation of the naked figure, the Caracci were eminently skilful; and it would be doing them a manifest wrong to suppose they did not entertain a high opinion of Bonarruoti, whom they imitated in this respect; though one of them once observed, not without some bitterness of feeling toward the rival school, that Michael Angelo should have put a little more flesh upon the bones of his figures, as their own Tibaldi had done. Of such naked figures they availed themselves in their compositions more sparingly than the Florentines, though not so sparingly as the painters of other schools. In their dresses they did not so much affect curious minuteness, or the richness visible in Paul Veronese's, as a degree of stateliness in the folds and the cut of the drapery; nor did any school display mantles of a more ample size, or dispose them with more dignity around their figures.

Notwithstanding that they had studied the works of the Lombard and Venetian painters, Mengs denies that they were eminent as colourists; and this opinion is corroborated by various oil paintings, (especially Lodovico's,) now faded and almost defaced. This arose either from the defective nature of the grounds, or from the excessive use of oil, or else because sufficient time

was not allowed to intervene between the preparation of the grounds and the execution of the picture. The same remark does not apply to their frescos. These, when viewed near at hand, display a boldness of pencilling almost equal to that of Paul Veronese's; nor, according to Bellori, did either the Caracci themselves, or any other artist of that age, produce a better coloured work than their paintings in the Casa Magnani. There is in these a truth, a force, a blending, and harmony of colouring, sufficient to entitle them to the name of reformers even in this branch of the art. They banished those yellows and languid tints which cupidity had introduced, instead of the azures and other colours of a higher price.

In action and expression they were fond of vivacity, but never sought it at the expense of decorum, of which they were strictly observant: indeed, there was not a single grace of art which they would not have sacrificed to this. Their taste in invention and composition approaches pretty closely to that of Raphael. The Caracci were by no means lavish of their figures: with the exception of such pieces as represented popular assemblies or battles, they deemed twelve a sufficient number for any historical subject; and even in these they introduced them with moderation, in order that the different groups might produce the more effect. That they knew how to compose with judgment, correct keeping, and variety, is evident from various altar-pieces of theirs which treat of sacred subjects; in which they did their utmost to avoid the hackneyed representation of a Madonna attended by various Saints. Still more evident is this in their pictures from profane story; and in none more so than in those of Romulus in the palace just mentioned. Here the three cousins display a sort of universality in painting: at once evincing their skill in perspective, landscape painting, decoration, and in every branch of art, they here combine, as it were in one point of view, every kind of excellence that we can wish for in a single work. Nor do they appear to be three different

painters, but one only; a circumstance that may be remarked also in several of the collections and many of the churches in Bologna. They held, indeed, the same maxims; and in that studio of theirs prepared their designs, conferred together upon their merits, and finished their pictures, in concert. With regard to certain altar-pieces, it is still a matter of doubt whether we should refer them to Annibale or to Lodovico; and the three historical pieces from the New Testament, at the Sampieri palace, where the three relatives took it into their heads to emulate each other, do not betray such a degree of diversity as might serve to characterize their respective authors. There have been those who have remarked that, in general, Lodovico made nearer approaches to Titian's manner than did his relatives, while Agostino shewed a greater predilection for Tintoretto, Annibale for Coreggio. Others have been of opinion, that the first affected a greater degree of lightness in his figures, the third a greater degree of fulness, while the second held a middle course between them. At Bologna, I found the preference was given to Lodovico for grandeur, to Agostino for inventiveness, and to Annibale for gracefulness of style. On these points I leave it to every one to form his own opinion according to his own opportunities; and now proceed to consider the artists themselves individually.

LODOVICO CARACCI.

Lodovico has left us specimens of the sublimest style in many of his performances at Bologna. That *Probatica* of his, so admirable both for the architectural ornaments and the design of the figures; that St. Jerome, who, with pen in hand, raises his eyes to heaven with an air of so much gravity and dignity; that Limbo of Holy Fathers, which, as if for the purpose of renewing his delight in it, he repeated at the cathedral of Placentia,

and sketched under a Crucifixion at Ferrara—have, in this school, ever been considered as models of the sublime. Nevertheless, on examining the Assumption at the Teresiani, the Paradise at the Barnabiti, or the St. George, in which we meet with that admirable representation of a virgin, who, struck with terror, betakes herself to flight, you will probably be of opinion that Annibale himself could not have diffused more gracefulness over the figures of maidens and boys. Lodovico's talent, therefore, was not confined to mere grandeur of style; he excelled in every department; and it would even seem that he was anxious to assert his claim to this merit in the two frescos (now no longer in existence) with which he decorated the Lambertini chapel in the church of St. Dominic. In one of these frescos he portrayed that holy founder of the Dominican order, together with St. Francis, in a manner wholly easy and unconstrained in appearance, with few lights and few shades, but those of a strongly marked character, with few folds in the drapery, and heads expressive of the highest sanctity; and this picture, according to Malvasia, proved to be " of a grandeur that has never been surpassed." In the other he gave a representation of Charity, in so soft, finished, and graceful a style, that, says his biographer, it was ever afterwards looked up to as " a model and pattern in modern painting." He goes on to observe, that Albani, Guido, and Domenichino, derived their sweetness of style from this picture; just as, in all probability, Cavedoni derived his first style from the St. Dominic, and Guercino his strong chiaroscuro from the St. Paul at the Conventuali. In a word, if we may credit history, Lodovico is in his school what Homer was among the Greeks, the *fons ingeniorum*. All the others have found in him that which constituted their own characteristic manner, and this because he was profoundly skilled in every department of art.

As a master, he appears to most advantage in the cloister of S. Michele in Bosco, where, in conjunction with his scholars,

he represented the actions of St. Benedict and St. Cecilia, in thirty-seven pieces of different sizes. The fire on Monte Cassino, and some few other pieces, are by his own hand; the rest is the work of Guido, Tiarini, Massari, Cavedoni, Spada, Garbieri, Brizio, and others of his youthful followers; paintings that have since been engraved, and such as are worthy of the reformers of that age. At sight of this gallery, as it might be called, of pictures produced by different artists, one might almost bestow on Lodovico's school this trite panegyric;—that from it, as from the Trojan horse, there issued forth none but princes. But what does him still greater honour is, that his cousins looked up to him to the very last as a preceptor; insomuch that Annibale, on completing the paintings of the Farnese ceiling, invited him to Rome in order that he might have the benefit of his opinion, advice, and final directions with regard to that great work. At Rome he remained less than a fortnight, and, returning to his favourite Bologna, survived Agostino seventeen, and Annibale ten years. Thus bereaved of his cousins, and advanced in years, he executed his works in a less studied, indeed, but still a masterly manner. Nor ought some few inaccuracies of design, into which he fell about this time, to detract from his fame; as in the hand of the Saviour, for instance, who is in the act of bidding St. Matthew follow him; or in the foot of the Virgin, in the Annunciation painted for the church of S. Pietro—an error which he did not discover till it was too late, and his grief for which may be said to have caused his death.

AGOSTINO CARACCI.

AGOSTINO painted but little, being occupied for the most part in engraving, which not only afforded him a livelihood, but supplied him also with the means of making a figure among artists.

In this, painting sustained a severe loss—deprived of a genius no less calculated than that of his relatives to promote the progress of art. He possessed greater power of invention than either of the other Caracci: many, too, consider him superior to the others in design; and it is certain that in his engravings he amended and improved upon the contours of the originals. On his return from Venice he applied himself more successfully to colouring; and succeeded so well in a painting which he executed of a horse, as to deceive a living one—a circumstance which procured Apelles so much applause. He became a candidate, in competition with Annibale, for an altar-piece proposed to be painted at the Certosini. The preference was given to his design; and then it was that, in his Communion of St. Jerome, he produced one of the most celebrated pictures of Bologna. It would seem impossible to add any thing to the devotion of the aged Saint, to the piety of the Priest who administers the sacrament to him, or to the expression of the bystanders who sustain the dying man, who listen to his last words, and, that they may not forget them, commit them to paper on the spot—countenances full of variety and vivacity, and each of them marked with appropriate mind. No sooner was the picture exhibited to view, than their pupils thronged around it to make their designs; insomuch that Annibale, moved with jealousy, began, like his brother, to take more time and pains; endeavouring at the same time to turn Agostino's attention once more to the art of engraving; a scheme in which he succeeded. At Rome, however, he had to contend with him again as a painter; and the beautiful poetical imagery so much admired in the paintings of the Farnese ceiling, is in great part the offspring of his genius, to which indeed we are indebted for the stories of Cefalus and Galatea; those charming performances, that one might fancy to have been dictated by a poet, and executed by a Greek artist. It was noised about at the time, that, in the pictures of the Farnese palace, the engraver surpassed the painter; so that Annibale, no longer able to endure

the stings of envy, under feigned pretences dismissed his brother from the work; nor could either the humility of Agostino, the advice of his elders, or the mediation of the great, suffice to appease him. Quitting Rome, therefore, Agostino entered the service of the Duke of Parma, in one of the saloons of whose palace he painted Celestial, Terrestrial, and Venal Love; a most beautiful performance, which he executed only just before his death. One figure still remained to be added; and this the Duke would never suffer to be supplied by any other hand. On finding the end of his days draw near, he was seized with the deepest remorse for his lascivious engravings, and bitterly lamented having published them. At the same time, too, he designed a picture of the Last Judgment, which, however, he was unable to complete. In the description of his funeral, and in the oration recited on that occasion by Lucio Faberio, mention is made of an unfinished head of Christ, in the character of the universal judge, which was painted by him at that time on a black ground. This head is now shewn in the Albani palace at Rome, and a duplicate of it may be seen elsewhere: in these features we find exhibited, at one view, all that the human mind can conceive of the majestic and the terrible.

ANNIBAL CARACCI.

Annibale distinguished himself greatly in Lombardy in every style that he chose to attempt. In his earlier works Mengs recognises "the semblance of Coreggio's style rather than the style itself;" but it is a semblance so specious, that it forces us to acknowledge him as one of the happiest imitators of that great model. That Descent from the Cross of his, in the possession of the Capuchins of Parma, may compete with the finest works of the Parmesan school. His picture of S. Rocco—

a sort of epitome of the merits of various artists, and etched by Guido Reni—is still more celebrated. This picture, which was painted for Reggio, was afterwards removed to Modena, and from thence to Dresden. He there represented the Saint standing on a platform beside a portico, and distributing his wealth to the poor; a picture abounding in figures, but abounding yet more in instruction. A crowd of beggars of both sexes and of all ages, and labouring under every variety of infirmity, are made also to display an admirable variety in the grouping and the gestures: one takes with gratitude what is offered to him, another seems to wait with impatience, a third counts his money with exultation: all here is misery and abasement; and yet all seems to remind you of the fertility and elevation of the author's fancy. Having repaired to Rome, however, during the anno santo 1600, he entered on a new career: "he checked his ardour, (says Mengs,) dealt less in figures of an exaggerated character, and took Raphael and the ancients for his models; though, with a view to grandeur of effect, he still retained some vestiges of Coreggio's style." Albani, in a letter preserved by Bellori, makes nearly the same remark, adding that Annibale, in the opinion of the best judges, "very far surpassed his cousin, owing to having studied not only the works of Raphael, but the most beautiful of the ancient statues." He there also executed various paintings for different churches; but his happiest performances, and, as it were, the whole foundation of art as restored by him, must be looked for in the Farnese palace. The subjects were selected by Monsignor Agucchi; and, together with the allegories, may be seen described in Bellori's work. In one of the apartments were to be given "representations of the Virtues; such as the Choice of Hercules, Hercules sustaining the World, Ulysses in his character of Deliverer:" in the *galleria*, various stories of Virtuous Love; as those of Arion and Prometheus; and others of Vicious Love, amongst which a most stupendous bacchanal piece, in the centre of the ceiling, is the

most conspicuous. The work is admirably distributed, and varied with ovals, cornices, and *Telamons*, the latter sometimes in stucco, sometimes in chiaroscuro; where we recognise his continued studies on the Farnese Hercules, and the Belvedere *Torso*, of which he could give an accurate drawing merely from memory. In the rest, too, we meet with the elegance of the ancient Greeks and the grace of Raphael, together with imitations not only of his favourite Tibaldi, but of Bonarruoti also, as well as the sprightliness and strength to be found in the paintings of the Venetian and Lombard schools. This was the first work, in which, as in a Pandora's box, the various merits of all the great Italian artists were combined together in one view; and in its proper place, I noticed the sensation it created at Rome, and the revolution it occasioned in the world of art.

In consequence of this great work, Mengs assigns Annibale the next rank after the three great painters; nay, as far as regards the figures of men, he even places him before them all. In point of composition, Poussin affirmed, that, next to those of Raphael, there were no works to be found surpassing these; while, to the historical pieces, admirably executed as they are, he preferred the *Telamons* or *Termini* already noticed, and the other naked figures; in which he said the painter had even surpassed himself. Baglione ascribes to him the method of colouring from nature, which was then almost lost, as well as the natural style of landscape painting, adopted afterwards by the Flemings. To all this we may add, his talent in caricature, which no one better knew how to copy from nature, and heighten by the powers of imagination. In the different galleries of Rome several of Annibale's pictures are to be met with in this new style of his; and of these there is one in the Lancellotti palace of a smaller size, and painted *a colla*, rivalling, I had almost said, the best that have been found at Herculaneum. It represents Pan teaching Apollo to play the pipe; figures designed, coloured, and arranged in a manner worthy an accom-

plished master. These figures are so well managed, that in the countenance of the youthful god we read submissiveness and the fear of doing wrong; while in that of the more aged deity, who is seen looking another way, we discern attention to the performance, self-complacency at possessing such a pupil, and anxiety to conceal this feeling from him lest it should inspire him with vanity.

No works of his, so exquisitely finished as those already noticed, are perhaps to be met with at Bologna; where there still exists a strong party, dating their origin from the days of the Caracci themselves, who give Lodovico the preference to Annibale. When, however, I reflect that Annibale combined with the inheritance derived from his own school the various qualities with which the great masters of ancient Greece had, in different ages and in different places, enriched their style; when, too, I reflect upon the progress made by Domenichino, Guido, Albani, and Lanfranco, on observing this new style of his at Rome; as well as the new light, which, as Passeri gives us reason to suppose, it afforded Algardi, to the great advantage of sculpture; and the improvement which, through him, took place in the delightful and attractive paintings of the Dutch and Flemish schools—the opinion commonly held beyond the limits of Bologna, that Annibale was the greatest painter of the family, appears to me to be the nearest to the truth. Let others, if they please, add, that Agostino was the greatest genius; Lodovico, to whom we are indebted for both the one and the other, the greatest master of the three.

The three Caracci may almost be said to close the period of the golden age of Italian painting. They are the last of the great masters; unless, indeed, we admit that their more distinguished pupils brought down the golden age a few years later. There arose, it is true, many eminent masters after their time; but from that period, as though they evinced less grandeur and solidity of style, we begin to meet with complaints about the

decline of art. Nor have there been wanting those who have contended for an age of silver, which they date from Guido and bring down to Giordano, as well on account of the inferior merit of the artists themselves, as for the prices, (so much greater than before,) which Guido introduced. The Caracci had been but indifferently paid. Malvasia admits this, and fails not to notice the humble dwelling, and to describe the narrow circumstances in which Lodovico died: the other two died even poorer than he. For the rest, the Caracci did not, like other painters, leave any legitimate offspring to perpetuate their school: they passed their lives unfettered by matrimonial ties, and used to say that they had no wife but art. And so ardent and devoted were they in their attentions to this, that they had scarce time to think of themselves. Even while they were at table, they kept paper and pencil before them, and, whenever they observed any action or gesture worth notice, failed not to take a sketch of it on the spot.

DOMENICHINO.

Domenico Zampieri, otherwise called Domenichino, is now universally looked upon as the most distinguished scholar of the Caracci; nay, Algarotti gives him the preference even to the Caracci themselves; and, what is still more, Poussin considers him as the greatest painter next to Raphael. Passeri, in his introduction to the life of Camassei, pronounces the same opinion of him. At the commencement of his studies he appeared to be slow of understanding, and that because he was profound and accurate: indeed, Passeri ascribes his progress rather to intensity of study than brilliance of genius. By constantly acting as a censor upon himself, he became among all his fellow-students the most exact and expressive draughtsman, the best colourist, (whether we consider the truth or strength of his

colouring,) the most universal master in the theory of art, the sole painter out of the whole number in whom Mengs could find nothing more to wish for, save a somewhat greater degree of elegance. To devote himself the more exclusively to art, he withdrew from society, or, if he occasionally sought it amidst the crowds of the market-place or the theatre, it was for the purpose of observing, in the countenances of the populace, how nature expressed joy, anger, grief, fear, and every other emotion of the mind, in order that he might sketch them on the spot. By these means, says Bellori, he succeeded in "delineating the mind, in imparting to his works the varied colouring of life," and awakening in the breast those very emotions which it is the object of each of his pictures to excite; just as a Tasso or an Ariosto would have done by the charms of his poetry. After he had pursued his studies for several years at Bologna, he repaired to Parma, to examine the beautiful works of the Lombard painters; from thence he proceeded to Rome, where he completed his education under Annibale, who also availed himself of his assistance.

His style of painting may be called dramatic: in general, he lays the scene amidst some beautiful architectural ornaments, which serve to open a way for novelty and grandeur of composition, after the manner of Paul Veronese. Here he introduces his actors, selected from nature's choicest models, and managed with the most consummate art. Those who have to play a virtuous part, have an expression so sweet, so ingenuous, and so amiable, that they can hardly fail to inspire a love of virtue. In like manner do the wicked, by their disgusting features, create in us a mortal aversion to their vices. Nor let any one hope to find in the works of other painters either greater beauty or greater variety of drapery; decoration of a more graceful, or mantles of a more imposing character. The figures are disposed in such situations and such attitudes, as serve to add to the general effect; while over the whole is diffused a light

that gladdens the soul, but which becomes brighter and brighter in the countenances of the more virtuous figures; whence they are the first to attract the eye and touch the heart of the spectator. The most delightful part of the spectacle is to run over the scene from one end to the other, and observe how well each personage performs the part assigned him. In general, there is no need of an interpreter to tell what is passing in the minds of the actors, or what it is that they are uttering: they all bear it stamped on their gestures and looks: were they gifted with the power of speech, they could not tell their tale to the ear more plainly than they tell it to the eye. Of this, the Flagellation of St. Andrew, in St. Gregory's at Rome, painted in competition with Guido, opposite to his St. Andrew, who is being led out to execution, is a sufficient proof. It is a common tale, that an old woman once stood a long while examining Domenichino's picture, commenting upon it part by part, and explaining it to a boy whom she happened to have with her; and that, turning afterwards to Guido's work, she took a cursory view of it, and passed on. It is added, too, that Annibale, on being made acquainted with the circumstance, was induced in consequence of it to prefer the former to the latter performance. It is further said, that Domenichino, while painting one of the executioners, sought to rouse himself to anger, using all the violence of gesticulation and language of a man in the act of denouncing threats, and that Annibale having surprised him in the fact, embraced him, and exclaimed:—"Domenichino, to-day I must take a lesson from you!" So novel, and, at the same time, so just and natural did it appear to him, that the painter, like the orator, should feel within himself all that he undertakes to represent to others.

Yet this picture of the Flagellation is a mere nothing compared with the Communion of St. Jerome, or the Martyrdom of St. Agnes, or other altar-pieces which he executed at a more mature age. The first of these is generally looked upon as the

best picture in Rome, next to the Transfiguration of Raphael; and the second was, by his rival, Guido, pronounced to be ten times superior to any thing of Raphael's*. In these church pictures, one great attraction consists in his *glories*, in which he introduces Angels of the loveliest features and the most ethereal forms, engaged in the most pleasing occupations of the piece; crowning martyrs, bearing palm-branches, scattering roses, weaving the mazy dance, or making melody. In their attitudes we often trace some imitation of Coreggio's manner: their figures, however, are different, and have for the most part a peculiar comeliness, which distinguishes them. But however pleasing Domenichino may be in his oil paintings, he is always more soft and harmonious in his frescos. Of these, besides those at Naples, specimens may be seen—at Fano, but the greater part of them injured by a fire; consisting of historical pieces from the New Testament, in one of the chapels of the cathedral—at the Villa Bracciano; consisting of mythological subjects—at Grotta Ferrata; consisting of the actions of S. Nilo—and at Rome; consisting of various sacred pieces scattered about in different churches. In the corbels of the cupolas of S. Carlo a' Catinari and S. Andrea della Valle, he painted, at the former, the four Cardinal Virtues, at the latter, the four Evangelists, which, after a hundred similar performances, are still looked up to as models of art. In the tribune of S. Andrea may be seen various pieces from the life of that Saint; at S. Luigi, others from the life of St. Cecilia; at St. Silvester's, on the Quirinal-hill, certain pieces from the life of David, together with other scriptural subjects, which, for the composition and the style of the drapery, are by some preferred to all the rest.

It seems almost incredible that works such as these, which now excite the admiration of professors themselves, should once

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* Puccini, in his "Esame Critico del Webb," p. 49, deservedly condemns this decision.

have been decried to such a degree, that, for a time, their author was almost destitute of employment; and was even on the point of abandoning painting, and betaking himself to sculpture. This we may attribute partly to the arrogant assumption of his rivals, who turned his very merits into faults, partly to some little defects of his own. Domenichino excelled less in invention than in the other branches of art. Of this we have a proof in his picture of the Rosario at Bologna, which neither was then, nor is now, fully understood by the public; and it is notorious, that even his own partisans disapproved of this composition, and that the author repented of having produced it. Hence, distrusting his powers in this department, he not unfrequently borrowed from others: in his St. Jerome, he imitated Agostino; in his St. Cecilia dispensing alms, he imitated the S. Rocco of Annibale; and thus in other cases he availed himself of the ideas even of less celebrated artists, being accustomed to observe that there was no picture in which he could not find something worth copying; just as Pliny used to say, there was no book from which he could not extract some useful information. This tendency to imitation afforded his rivals an opportunity of taunting him with want of fancy; nay, they went so far as to get Agostino's St. Jerome engraved, and, dispersing copies of it about, denounced Zampieri as a plagiary. Lanfranco, the prime agent in these machinations, opposed, on the other hand, his own novelty of invention; contrasting his own celerity and promptness of execution with the tardiness and indecision of his rival. Had Domenichino been backed by a party proportioned to his merits, he might, like the Caracci at Bologna, have quickly triumphed over his adversaries, by shewing, that though he was an imitator, he was not a servile copyist; and that if his works were of a more protracted birth, they deserved at any rate to enjoy a longer life. The public is doubtless an equitable judge; but with the public it is not always enough that our cause is good, unless we have also a powerful party to abet it. Domenichino, of a timid and

retiring disposition as he was, and master of but few pupils, had not then a sufficient number on his side, and was constrained to yield to the crowd that trampled him; verifying the remark of Monsig. Agucchi, that his worth would not be rightly appreciated till after his death. Party spirit once extinguished, impartial posterity now does justice to his merits; nor is there a single royal gallery that is not ambitious of possessing specimens of his works. His figure pieces are in the very highest repute, and fetch enormous prices. They are rarely to be seen except in capitals. His David, at the college of Fano, is an object of curiosity to all foreigners of any pretensions to taste; it is a figure as large as life, and would alone suffice to render an artist's name immortal. The St. Francis, formerly in the possession of Count Jacopo Zambeccari, of Bologna, is a small but almost inestimable picture: the Saint is represented in the act of prayer, and, to look at his red and bloodshot eyes, one would almost think his very heart was melting into tears. Two other pictures of his, of which the composition is singularly beautiful, did I meet with at Genoa; Venus deploring the death of Adonis, in the Durazzo gallery; and the S. Rocco offering up prayers for the cessation of a Pestilence, in the Sala Brignole. The attitude of the Saint himself—the anxiety of those who look to him for succour—the ghastly appearance of the dead extended upon the ground, more especially that of a man who is being carried to the grave, and of a mother to whose cold breast a little innocent is still seen clinging—agitate the spectator with all the force of reality. Of Domenichino's pictures from profane story, the most celebrated is the Chase of Diana, in the Borghese palace; a picture abounding with sprightly nymphs and gay *accidents* (gai accidenti). In the same collection, as well as in the Florentine gallery, may be seen a small landscape or two of his, and a portrait or two of his in several others. Even in these performances, also, he evinced great merit, and these are the least difficult to be procured.

ALBANI.

NEXT to Zampieri comes his intimate friend, Francesco Albani, who, "aiming at the same end, (says Malvasia,) and adopting the same means, pursued the same glorious path." They coincided in a sort of general air of selection, solidity, and pathos, in their design; they also closely resembled each other in their colouring, except that Albani's fleshes are of a more sanguine hue, and not unfrequently impaired, owing to his method of laying on the grounds. In originality of invention he is superior to Domenichino, and perhaps to every other artist of the same school; while, in the representation of female figures, he surpasses, according to Mengs, every other painter. He is sometimes called the Anacreon of painting. As that poet acquired a high reputation by the composition of short odes, so did Albani by the composition of small pictures; and as the former constantly sings of Venuses and Cupids, of youths and maidens, so does the latter almost always make choice of the same tender and fascinating subjects for the exercise of his pencil. Nature had endowed him with a peculiar aptitude for this species of painting, his fondness for poetry increased it, and even fortune itself seemed to lead the same way; he having been blessed with a wife and twelve children of such surpassing beauty, that he had at all times the finest models for his studies before his eyes. He was master, too, of a villa most delightfully situated, where the variety of objects before him afforded him the best helps for the representation of those beautiful landscapes in which he so often indulged. Passeri awards him the highest praise even in this branch of art: observing that, while others, to adapt their figures to the landscape, or the different parts of the landscape to each other, frequently change the natural colours of objects, Albani always represented the real greens of the various trees, the transparency of water, and the serenity of

the sky, in their loveliest aspects, and blended them together in the sweetest harmony.

Such, in general, is the nature of the groundwork on which he places and disposes his compositions; although he occasionally introduces architectural ornaments, in which he is equally happy. His compositions frequently appear, or, to speak more correctly, re-appear, in different galleries; for he not only repeated them himself, but made his pupils take copies of them; taking care to retouch them afterwards with his own hand. Few bacchanal pieces of his are to be met with: he, in general, avoided subjects of this kind; subjects which were so admirably handled by Annibale in many of his smaller pictures, from which, if I mistake not, Albani caught the first idea of his own style; accommodating it, however, to his own genius, which was of a less manly character than Annibale's. The subjects most familiar to him were—the Sleeping Venus—the Diana in the Bath—the Danae in Bed—the Galatea in the Sea—and the Europa on the back of the Bull, a piece which may also be seen executed by him on a large scale in the Colonna and Bolognetti collections at Rome, and at Pesaro in that of the Mosca family; and it is delightful to observe those little Cupids, some of them spreading a veil over the damsel to shield her from the sun's rays, others with bands formed of flowers dragging along the bull, or goading him on with their arrows. Frequently, too, he introduces them either dancing, or weaving garlands, or practising with their bows at a heart suspended aloft for a target. Occasionally he makes painting the vehicle of some doctrine or some ingenious allegory; as in those four oval pictures of the Elements in the Borghese palace, which he afterwards repeated in the Royal gallery of Turin. In these also are seen little Cupids, some of them tempering Vulcan's darts, others spreading snares in the air for the feathered race, others fishing or disporting in the sea, others gathering flowers and weaving chaplets on the ground; as though he

sought to represent the system of those among the ancients who ascribed every thing in nature to the operation of Genii, and therefore with Genii peopled the universe. Albani did not devote so much of his time to sacred subjects, nor did he depart from his usual style in them; making the entire action of them depend upon the ministration of lovely little Angels. One of the most frequently repeated of his designs is that which represents the Infant Jesus, with eyes turned towards heaven, observing the Angels, some of whom bear in their hands thorns, others scourges, or crosses, or some other emblems of his future passion. There is a picture of this kind at Florence, and it may also be seen repeated, though somewhat varied, in two beautiful altar-pieces; the one in the possession of the Dominicans of Forli, the other in that of the Filippini of Bologna. These and other altar-pieces of Albani's, dispersed through different cities, as Matelica, Osimo, and Rimini, as well as his fresco paintings at S. Michele in Bosco at Bologna, and at S. Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, after designs of Annibale, at Rome, prove that he did not want the ability to execute large works, though he applied himself with better success and greater inclination to those on a smaller scale.

Albani kept a school of painting for many years both at Rome and Bologna, where he was the constant competitor of Guido both as a painter and a master. Hence arose the many strictures on his style, which Guido's followers affected to despise as voluptuous and effeminate, inelegant in his figures of men, and monotonous as well in his infantine figures, which always betray the same proportions, as in the heads of his Holy Families and Saints, where we always recognise the same features. These and similar charges, brought forward also against Pietro Perugino, do not serve to lower this great master in our opinion, so much as the esteem of Annibale, his own writings, and his own pupils, serve to exalt him. We read that Annibale, enraptured with a little picture of his, (where, among other things, was a fountain in which a bacchanal was pouring wine,)

purchased it, and afterwards declared, that he had not even paid for those few drops of water so exquisitely coloured by the wine. Of his writings we have now only some few fragments, preserved by Malvasia, not very methodically arranged, it is true, (a task worthy of some other pen,) but highly valuable for the information and the precepts they contain. With regard to his pupils, Sacchi and Cignani would alone suffice to do him credit; the former of whom became one of the main supporters of the art at Rome, the other at Bologna; and owing to whose efforts, painting for several years maintained its ground in both those schools.

GUIDO.

Guido Reni is by many considered as the greatest genius of the school; nor did any other of their scholars excite the jealousy of the Caracci so much as he. Lodovico was unable to disguise it; and it was then that from a pupil he converted him into a rival, and that, to depress him, he began to take into his favour Guercino, who pursued a totally different path. Annibale himself, when, after an interval of some years, he found him his competitor at Rome, chid Albani for taking him thither; and, to lower his credit, proceeded to oppose Domenichino to him. Even as early as the age of twenty, the age at which he quitted Calvart, the Caracci discovered in him a genius no less rare than haughty and ambitious of distinction; which, at the very outset, aspired to something of the novel and the grand. In the Buonfigliuoli palace and other choice collections, there exist certain juvenile efforts of his, some in one style, some in another. He attentively studied the works of Albert Durer; imitated the Caracci; took delight in Cesi's figures; like Passerotti, aimed at imparting strong relief and accuracy to the representation of the muscles; and even made some attempts at imitating Caravaggio:

in the above-mentioned palace there is a Sibyl of his, extremely beautiful in point of features, but beyond measure overcharged with shadow. Indeed, the style which he finally adopted originated solely in an observation which Annibale happened to make one day upon Caravaggio's style:—that to this method there might be opposed another of a totally different description; by introducing, instead of his partial and defective lights, others of a broader and more vivid character; by substituting the tender for the savage; the strongly marked outline for the indistinct; and transforming his low and vulgar figures into others of a more select and beautiful kind. These words made a stronger impression on Guido's mind, and rooted themselves in it more deeply, than Annibale had imagined; nor was it long before he turned his whole attention to the style thus indicated to him. Sweetness was the main object he had in view; this he aimed at in his design, his mode of pencilling, and his colouring: from that moment he began to make a free use of white lead, a colour shunned by Lodovico; and from that moment predicted the durability of his tints, a prediction verified by the event. His fellow-students became indignant at this, as though he had presumed to depart from the method of the Caracci, and return to the feeble and enervated manner of the preceding age. Nor was he wholly deaf to their advice. At first he adhered closely to that strength of style in which the Bolognese school so much delighted, attempering it, however, with more softness than is usually to be found in that school; and gradually carrying this quality to a greater length, he in a few years attained to that delicacy of manner which he had proposed to himself. Hence I have heard distinctions drawn between Guido's first and second styles, and questions raised as to which is the better of the two, more frequently at Bologna than anywhere else. Nor is every one disposed to bow to Malvasia's decision, who pronounced the first the most fascinating, the other the most learned.

During the progress of these changes he never lost sight of

that facility which forms one of the main attractions of his works; and, above all, he aimed at distinguishing himself by correct beauty, especially in his youthful heads, in which, in the opinion of Mengs, he surpassed every other painter, and, according to the expression of Passeri, produced countenances worthy of Paradise. In these figures Rome is, if I mistake not, richer than Bologna itself: the Fortune, of the Capitoline museum; the Aurora, of the Rospigliosi pavilion; the Helen, of the Spada palace; the Herodias, of the Corsini collection; the Magdalene, of the Barberini gallery; and other similar objects in the possession of different princes—are looked upon as prodigies of Guido's art. This talent for the beautiful was, according to Albani,—his bitterest and constant rival,—the gift of nature; it was, however, the result of his combined studies of the beauties of nature, the works of Raphael, and the statues, medallions, and cameos of antiquity. He himself confessed that the Medicean Venus and the Niobe were his favourite models; and rarely indeed is it that we may not recognise in his paintings either Niobe herself, or some one of her children, yet diversified in a variety of ways, and with such address, as to exempt him altogether from the charge of plagiarism. In the same manner did Guido profit by the works of Raphael, Coreggio, Parmigianino, and his admired Paul Veronese; works from which he contrived to extract a thousand beauties, and that, too, in so easy and unconstrained a manner, as to move the envy even of the Caracci themselves. In fact, this artist did not so much aim at copying beautiful heads, as at forming in his own mind a sort of general and abstract idea of the beautiful, as we know to have been the case with the Greeks; and this he afterwards invested with such a character as best suited his purpose. I find it recorded, that, on being asked by one of his scholars " in qual parte del cielo, in quale idea," were to be found the models of those countenances which he portrayed, he pointed to casts of those ancient statues just alluded to, observing:—you, too, may extract from these

models beauties similar to those contained in my works, if you have but the genius to do it. I find, too, that he took as a model for one of his Magdalenes, the head of a colour-grinder, a head of the vulgarest character; but in Guido's hands all its defects disappeared, each feature was invested with becoming grace, and the whole became a miracle of art. He pursued the same plan in those parts of his figures exposed to view, reducing them in every instance to the most perfect forms, especially in his hands and feet, which are singularly beautiful; and the same plan he pursued in his draperies, which he not unfrequently borrowed from the engravings of Albert Durer's works, and to which, divesting them of every thing like dryness, he imparted just that degree of airiness or stateliness which the subject demanded. Even his portraits, too, without altering the features of the originals, or representing them as younger than they really were, he contrived to invest with a certain air of freshness and grace: as in that of Sixtus V. in the Galli palace at Osimo; or in that stupendous one of Cardinal Spada, to be seen at Rome in the possession of his heirs. There is no action, no gesture, no emotion of the mind, which he does not contrive to portray, without impairing the value of his figures; he depicts them under the varied feelings of grief, sadness, and terror, without at all detracting from their beauty; he accommodates them to every purpose, represents them under every attitude, and that without ever rendering them less pleasing: to each of them we may in some sort apply this panegyric, that in every action and in every step Beauty secretly animates and accompanies it*.

What most surprises us is, the way in which he contrives to diversify this beauty; a circumstance to be ascribed as much to

* Illam, quidquid agat, quoquo vestigia vertat,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque Decor.—*Tibullus.*

the great fertility of his fancy, as to his studies. Continuing to exercise himself in design up to the latest period of his life, he constantly taxed his invention how best to vary his style of beauty, that so he might exempt it from the charge of monotony. He was fond of painting heads that looked upwards; and used to say, that he had a hundred different methods of doing this. He also varied the folds of his drapery in a hundred different ways; though he was always fond of making them ample, easy, and natural, and intelligible in their origin, progress, and arrangement. Nor did he display less diversity in the mode of attiring his youthful heads, disposing them in a variety of ways, with hair sometimes dishevelled, sometimes arranged with care, at other times purposely neglected; occasionally throwing over them a veil, a handkerchief, or a turban, in a manner as novel as it was graceful. Nor did he impart less variety to the heads of old men, in which he represented, with such an air of nature, the inequality of the skin and the flow of the beard; twisting the hairs of the head in every direction, and animating the features by a few bold and vigorous touches, and by a few lights which, at a distance, produce the happiest effect: specimens of these, which are the least rare of this artist's performances, are to be seen in the Barberini and Albani galleries. He also took great pains to vary his fleshes: making them, in delicate subjects, of a pure white, and overlaying them with certain colours of a livid and azure hue mingled with middle tints; a practice which some think open to the charge of mannerism.

The panegyrics which we have just bestowed on Guido's style do not apply to all his works. His inequality is notorious; and this inequality is attributable, not to his system, but to a vice which in some measure obscured his many virtues—his love of play. His earnings might have been a fortune to him; and yet, in consequence of his losses, he was continually in want; and his wants he supplied by executing his works in a careless man-

ner. Hence some few errors in perspective, and some few defects in invention; faults dwelt upon with so much aggravation by the implacable Albani: hence too the incorrectness of his design, and the inequality between his different figures, as well as the habit of setting his works to sale before he had finished them. Not that they are therefore excluded even from royal collections: in that of Turin, there is a Marsyas most exquisitely finished, before whom stands an Apollo little better than a mere sketch. To form a proper estimate of Guido's merits, however, we must turn our eyes to those other works to which he owed his fame. Among the best things of his in his boldest style, we may place —the Crucifixion of St. Peter, at Rome—the Miracle of the Manna, at Ravenna—the Conception, at Forli—the Massacre of the Innocents, at Bologna—and the celebrated picture of St. Peter and St. Paul, at the Casa Sampieri in the same town. In his softer manner, we may more particularly notice—the St. Michael, at Rome—the Purification, at Modena—the S. Giobbe, at Bologna—the St. Thomas the Apostle, at Pesaro—and the Assumption, at Genoa, one of the most studied of Guido's works, and placed opposite the St. Ignatius of Rubens.

Guido opened a school of painting at Rome, as well as in his native place, where, as we learn from Crespi, he reckoned more than two hundred scholars among his followers. Not, however, that we are, by this number, to estimate his dignity as a teacher. He was in truth a master, who introduced into the works of every school a still softer and sweeter style, which in the time of Malvasia was called the modern style. His very rivals profited by it; for it is held to be a matter of certainty, that Domenichino, Albani, Lanfranco, and their more distinguished scholars, were indebted to Guido for that tenderness in which they sometimes surpass the Caracci themselves. He did not let his scholars begin by copying his own works; exercising them at first in those of Lodovico and others of the earlier masters. Crespi is moreover of opinion, that he grounded his scholars in the true prin-

ciples of art, of imitation, and of the other more important matters, without wasting their time over those minutiæ which are easily enough learnt in the course of practice.

GUERCINO.

Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, surnamed Il Guercino da Cento, might, to speak the plain truth, more properly be placed among the painters of Ferrara, of which city Cento is a dependency, than among those of Bologna: but we must follow the more common practice, and rank him among the *Caracceschi*. This practice originated either in a tradition that, while a boy, he received some lessons from the Caraçci in the art of design; a tradition which but ill accords with the period at which he lived; or else, because he received a bias for painting from an altar-piece of Lodovico's; which is but a very slight ground for reckoning him among that artist's scholars. For the rest, he never attended the school of the Caracci; but having resided a short time at Bologna with Cremonini, his fellow-countryman, he returned to Cento; where he became at first the scholar, next the colleague, and lastly the kinsman of the elder Benedetto Gennari. There are those who reckon among Guercino's masters one Gio. Batista Gennari, who, in 1606, painted, at S. Biagio of Bologna, a Madonna amongst various Saints, in a style very much resembling that of the Procaccini. To say the truth, too, the Paradise at S. Spirito di Cento, as well as an altar-piece at the Capuchins, and others of the earlier works of Guercino, betray vestiges of the manner of the old masters. He afterwards, in conjunction with Benedetto, directed all his efforts to impart to his pictures an imposing effect: in his endeavours after which, I shall not, with the generality of biographers and dilettanti, content myself with distinguishing two

styles only, he having avowedly professed three; as Righetti, in his Description of the Pictures of Cento, also observes.

Of these, the first is the least known; it abounds with very strong shadows interspersed with vivid lights, is but little studied in the heads and extremities, while, in point of colouring, the fleshes are of a yellowish tinge, and the other parts not of a very agreeable character; a manner which on the whole bears some faint resemblance to that of Caravaggio; specimens of it are to be seen not only at Cento, but at Bologna in the S. Guglielmo a' Ministri degli Infermi. From this he passed on to his second manner, which is the most esteemed and the most sought after. This he went on improving for the space of several years by means of the helps he derived from various other schools; having, during this period, frequently visited Bologna, spent some time at Venice, resided a few years at Rome, in company with the more eminent of the *Caracceschi*, and also contracted an intimacy with Caravaggio. This his second style is invariably founded on that of Caravaggio; displaying strong contrast of light and shade, both of them of the boldest character; yet evincing great sweetness in the blending, and consummate art in the relief; a quality so highly prized in this profession. Hence foreigners have sometimes denominated him the magician of Italian painting; and by him we have seen renewed those celebrated illusions of antiquity; such as that of a child reaching out its hand in stealth to snatch some fruit that he had painted. From Caravaggio also he borrowed that indistinctness of outline, of which he availed himself to execute his pictures with the more despatch: he imitated him also in those half-length figures placed in one and the same plane; nay, for the most part, he composed his historical pieces in that manner. He aimed, however, at greater chasteness of design and greater selection than Caravaggio: not that he ever attained to a certain elegance and dignity of feature; but he represented, in general, heads worthy of a judicious

observer of nature; displaying a gracefulness of air, an ease and truth of attitude, and a colouring, which, if it is not the most delicate, is at least the most sound and juicy. Frequently, on comparing Guido's figures with Guercino's, we should feel disposed to say, in the words of one of the ancients, that the former had fed on roses, the latter on flesh. To know how admirably he succeeded in the colouring of his draperies after the manner of the more distinguished Venetians, as well as in the colouring of his landscapes and accessories, we have only to look at his S. Petronilla, in the Quirinal palace; or the Resurrection of Christ, at Cento; or his S. Helena, in the possession of the Mendicants at Venice: all of them admirable pictures in his second style. In this style also are most of his works that are still to be found at Rome, not excepting even those on a larger scale; as the S. Gio. Grisogono on the ceiling of the church of that name, or the Aurora of the Villa Lodovisi. But he eclipsed both these and all his other performances in the cupola of the cathedral of Placentia, in which city he seems to have wrought in competition with Pordenone, and in boldness (fierezza) of style to have surpassed him.

Some years after his return from Rome to Cento, observing how much people in general were taken with the sweetness of Guido's manner, he resolved to emulate it; thenceforward departing gradually more and more from the robust manner hitherto described, and painting in a gayer and more open style. He also imparted a greater degree of comeliness and variety to his heads, and became more studious of expression; a point carried to a most astonishing pitch in several of his pictures executed about this time. There are some who date this change of style from the period of Guido's death, when Guercino, finding that he could now take the lead at Bologna, quitted Cento and established himself in that great city. Several pictures, however, in his third manner, executed previous to Reni's death, compel us to reject this supposition: nay, it is

even said that Guido observed the change, and turned it into a source of self-congratulation; declaring that, while he did his utmost to keep aloof from Guercino's style, the latter did all he could to approach his. In this style, though modified by the preceding, is the Circumcision of our Saviour placed in the church of Gesù e Maria, at Bologna; a piece in which the architectural ornaments and the drapery vie with the figures, while, with regard to the latter, it is hard to say whether they charm us more by their proportions or their expression. To this we may add, the Espousals of the Virgin, at S. Paterniano of Fano; the S. Pelazia, at Ancona; the Annunciation, at Forli; and the Prodigal Son, in the royal palace at Turin—a piece which consists of full-length figures, and of which duplicates, in half-length figures, may be seen in many different galleries. However pleasing this his third manner may be found, competent judges could have been well content had Guercino never departed from the vigour of his second style, for which nature had peculiarly adapted him, and in which he may be considered as unique. The number of orders he received may perhaps have contributed to make him hit upon an easier method, as well as his incredible talent for execution and despatch; he having produced no less than one hundred and six altar-pieces, and one hundred and forty-four large cabinet pictures for princes and persons of distinction, to say nothing of numberless others which he painted for private individuals; such as Madonnas, portraits, half-length figures, and little landscapes. Hence his works are by no means rare in the different collections. The Zolli family, at Rimini, possesses about twenty pieces of his; the Lecchi family, of Brescia, also possesses a large number, all of them admirable and highly finished according to his usual practice: among the latter is a portrait of a Frate Osservante, his confessor—a prodigy of art.

LANFRANCO.

GIOVANNI LANFRANCO, one of those distinguished disciples of the Caracci who followed Annibale to Rome, was born at Parma, and, while a youth, was in the service of the Conti Scotti of Placentia; where, having in mere sport designed some figures in charcoal upon a wall, his rare genius was discovered; and, in order that it might be cultivated, he himself was placed under the care of Agostino Caracci. Bellori, quaintly perhaps, but still with some degree of truth, sought to describe the nature of his genius by his name; and it must be confessed, that it would not be easy to find a painter of a character more *frank* either in conception or execution. He hit upon a sort of style which, in design and expression, bears some resemblance to that of the Caracci, while in composition it approaches that of Coreggio; a style at once easy and grand, whether we regard the dignity of the heads and the attitudes, the broad and well-distributed masses of light and shade, or the stateliness of the drapery, disposed in broad imposing folds hitherto unknown in art. It is to this very circumstance of its grandeur, that we must impute the want of attention to those minutiæ which add to the value of other paintings as much as they would have detracted from his. In this style, therefore, it was very possible for him to be somewhat careless of exact finish, and to succeed in pleasing us notwithstanding; possessing, as he did, so many other qualities to excite our admiration; novel inventions; colours, if not lively, yet exquisitely blended together; foreshortenings the most beautiful; together with a mode of contrasting the different figures and the different parts of his pictures, which, as Mengs observes, has served as a model for the tasteful style of more modern artists.

This method of his he adopted in very many cabinet pictures, not only for the Farnese princes, in whose palace at Rome he

executed some of his earliest works, but for other persons of distinction: among those that gained him the greatest applause in that city is his Polyphemus, painted for the Borghese gallery, and his scriptural pieces at S. Callisto. His altar-pieces, too, are very numerous; and among the best may be reckoned—the S. Andrea Avellino, at Rome, set off with stately architectural ornaments—the Dead Christ, at Foligno, with the Eternal Father, who, though clothed in a mortal shape, inspires us nevertheless with awful ideas of the Divine Being—the Death of the Virgin, at Macerata—and the S. Rocco and the S. Corrado, at Placentia; pictures which may perhaps be ranked among the most finished and the most renowned of all that Lanfranco ever produced. But more especially did he employ this method in his cupolas and other similar works which he executed on a large scale after the manner of Coreggio. While a youth, he had prepared at Parma a small coloured model of the cupola of the cathedral, emulating its style in every part, especially in gracefulness of movement (grazia delle movenze), the most difficult of all. This he imitated in the church of S. Andrea della Valle at Rome; following in his paintings there the example which M. Angelo had set in architecture, when, finding it impossible to create a more beautiful cupola than that of Brunelleschi, and unwilling to make one like it, he formed one after a different plan, and yet succeeded to admiration. This work at S. Andrea della Valle forms a sort of epoch in the art, inasmuch as Lanfranco, to use the words of Passeri, " fu il primo a dilucidare l' apertura di una gloria celeste con la viva espressione di un immenso luminoso splendore, senza esserne per l' innanzi veduto esempio." " The cupola of Lanfranco (he continues) remains an unrivalled example in the way of glories: for, as far as we can form any idea of these glories, he has, in the opinion of the most dispassionate judges, attained the highest pitch of excellence, not only in the general harmony of the whole, which

is the main point, but in the distribution of the colours, the arrangement of the parts, and the strong character of the chiaroscuro," &c. Nor was this work, on which he spent four years, the only proof he gave of a fertility and elevation of fancy altogether unexampled even among the painters of antiquity. The cupolas which he painted in Naples at the church of the Jesuits, and in the treasury of St. Januarius, where he succeeded Domenichino, together with the different tribunes and chapels which he decorated in the same masterly manner in both the above-mentioned cities, have, in this kind, furnished Lower Italy with the most esteemed models it ever possessed. From him the *machinisti* learnt the true art of contenting the eye at great distances; painting only a portion of the picture, and, as he was wont to say, leaving the air to paint the rest (dipingendo in parte, e in parte, come egli solea dire, lasciando che l' aria vi dipinga).*

* Guido Cagnacci, Simone Cantarini, Sisto Badalocchi, Alessandro Tiarini, Lionello Spada, Lorenzo Garbieri, Giacomo Cavedone, and Lucio Massari, who all come under this epoch, and who were all artists of considerable eminence, are here necessarily omitted. Of the fourth epoch, which is also here omitted, the principal ornaments are Pasinelli and Cignani: the former of these aimed at combining Raphael's design with the attractions of Paolo Veronese's style; the latter, Coreggio's grace with Annibale's profound knowledge of the art.

THE END.

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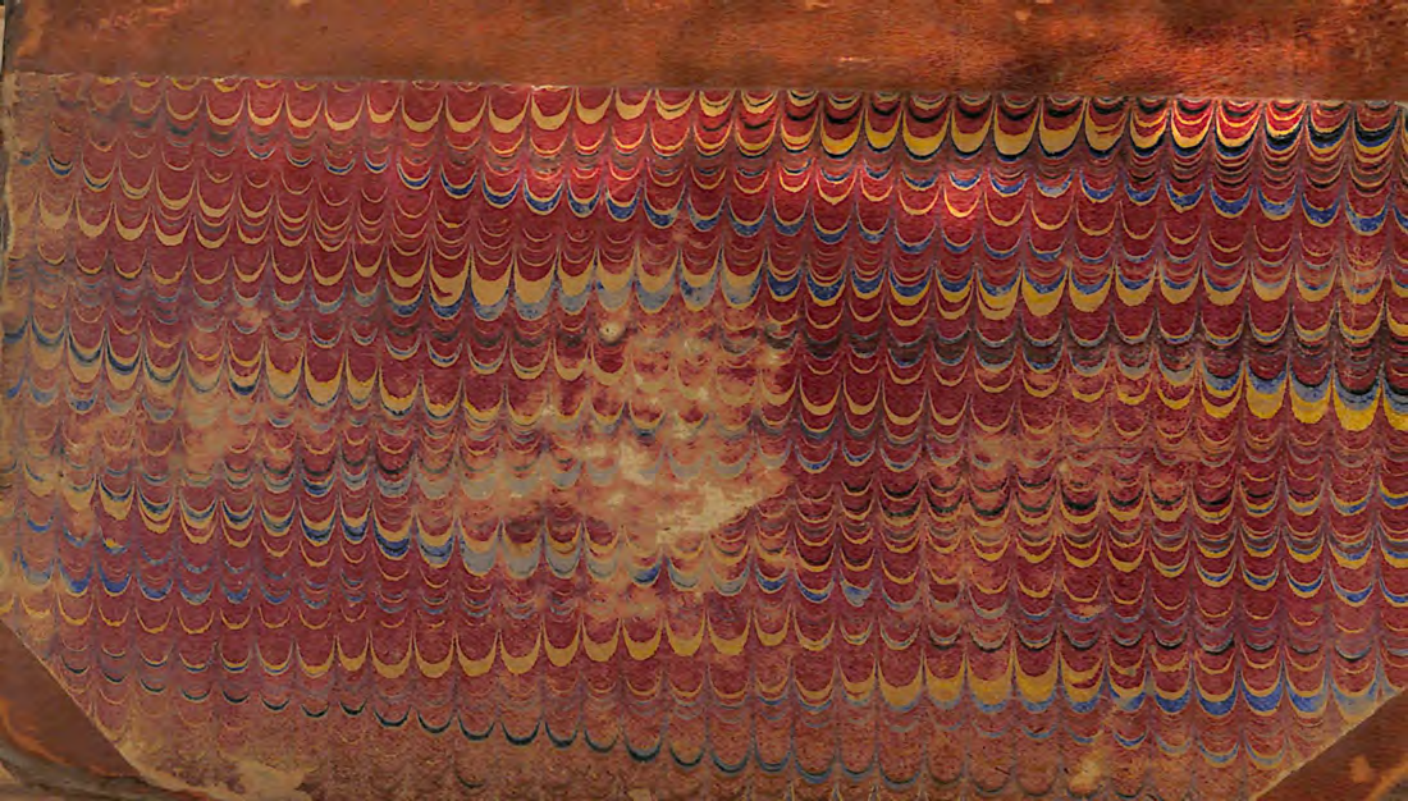
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